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DR. JOZEF TISO IN MEMORIAM

April 18, 1961, marked the 14th anniversary of the death of Monsignor Dr. Jozef Tiso, President of the Slovak Republic, who died a martyr's death at the hands of Beneš and the Soviets, a victim of a disastrous policy, the cornerstone of which was laid at Yalta in February, 1945.

Instead of ushering in freedom, democracy and self-determination, it led to the subjugation of an additional 200 million Europeans. On their soil in Northern, Central and Southern Europe, there arose a new Soviet colonial system at a time when 100 millions of people in Asia and Africa began their march to independent statehood. It was a policy that destroyed Europe's individuality and enlarged the power of the Kremlin, a power that has kept all humanity under constant tension since 1945 and is a threat to the freedom of all the states it has not yet captured.

The Slovak Republic was one of the victims of this policy. The invasion of Slovakia by the Red Army crushed its growing individuality and brutally incorporated that little country into Czecho-Slovakia. A Communist regime was imposed upon Slovakia, supported and represented by Czech Communists. This regime is able to maintain its power only by employing Czech-Communist commissars.

Dr. Jozef Tiso constantly warned the free world of the dual danger inherent in the Soviet system: Moscow's imperialism on the one hand; the tyranny of godless Communism on the other. His warning words unfortunately fell on deaf ears. When Dr. Tiso refused to cooperate with Moscow in spreading the Communist dictatorship, he was treated like a criminal of the worst sort. U. S. Military units, operating against established international procedures, on order from Washington surrendered Dr. Tiso and a number of Slovak opponents of Soviet Russia to the

Prague Communists. Much effort was expended to degrade Dr. Tiso in the eyes of the rest of the world for the frankness of his convictions and to place him in a bad light. His opponents succeeded in doing so by recourse to propaganda.

At that time the USA lent its support to the policy of Dr. Edward Beneš, a pioneer in cooperating with the Soviets, and an ideal representative of the policy of Yalta. The West helped the Communist system to expand its power and thus took ruthless measures against Dr. Tiso who warned of the consequences of this policy. Events after 1950 documented the correctness of the words of both the Slovak president and the Slovak people. At the same time they disclosed — as convincing arguments — the short-sightedness, egoistic and immoral policy of Dr. Beneš, which today is still erroneously referred to as “democratic.”

By murdering President Jozef Tiso the Czech-Communist regime hoped to break the anti-Communist resistance of the Slovak people and crush their ambitions toward freedom and independence. It did not succeed in doing so and will never succeed. The Slovak people will hold fast to the idea of Slovak statehood throughout all the ruthlessness and terror to which they are submitted and will stand up to the Czech-Communist regime with every bit of resolve they can muster, regardless of the cost.

The policy of Yalta spells misfortune not only for the Slovak people but for all mankind. The West dare not lose sight of the fact that today neither nazism nor fascism constitutes a danger — they are systems of the past — but Communism, to rid itself of which is the task of the hour. Bearing in mind the countless martyrs, victims of an “historical error,” of the policy of Yalta, the entire free world should resolve to take uncompromising and more energetic steps to oppose the Communist system and do so, as well, in the interest of the enslaved peoples behind the iron curtain. Freedom and independence belong not to a privileged few but to all, including the Slovak people. — A. M.

ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS:

CONFLICT BETWEEN IDEA AND DEED**JOSEPH CIEKER**

The politics of the non-Communist world loses much of its aggressiveness, attractiveness and snap because of the frequent conflict between thought and action, between an ideal and reality, between the height of the noblest values and the baseness of those money-changers who have made a profession out of politics. If this frequent conflict in the politics of the non-Communist world is judged benevolently, reasons will be found to explain it, even if not for justification. If, however, in the directing of this conflict politics is being made by people whose personal, moral and national obligation it should be to perseveringly make politics of principles, politics of spiritual and moral revival, politics of liberating the nations fettered by the chains of communist violence, then this conflict even with the greatest benevolence cannot find neither explanation, nor justification.

Undoubtedly great ideas and noble ideas inspired the organization of the Assembly of Captive Nations (ACEN)

The "Czechoslovak" delegation or representation of the Assembly of Captive European Nations is made up of persons who were — all of them with the exception of Dr. Stephen Osuský — members of the postwar Communist-dominated National Front Government (1945-1948) of the Beneš-Gottwald coalition, which collaborated fully with the Soviet Union (Beneš's "Czechoslovak-Soviet" treaty of Dec. 12, 1943, was the "cornerstone" of Prague's foreign policy). They are considered responsible in a large measure for the present hapless plight of the Slovaks and Czechs. Osuský was chosen to head the delegation, because he was "cleaner" than the others.

on September 20, 1954. The principal aim of this organization, as expressed on its shield, is: "Freedom and national independence for the nations of Central and Eastern Europe enslaved by the Soviets."

The roster of the nations "enslaved by the Soviets"

should contain the names of all the nations (not only the names of the political formations they are enslaved in) which, from the day of their occupation by the Reds, are fighting, suffering and dying for the concept of freedom and independence. Europe and the entire non-Communist world would like to see in this Assembly of Captive Nations **ALL** of the nations that are held captive by the USSR. Elementary political honor and the most primitive political loyalty to the ideal of freedom and independence, to this truth and the political and national realities in Central and Eastern Europe, have demanded from the very beginning — and perseveringly demand even today — that this organization — which has pledged itself before the non-Communist world that it wishes to express the spiritual, moral, and political content of the enslaved nations — will keep its given word and shall in its own conduct be identified with the aim expressed on its shield.

Unfortunately, this was not so. And it still is not so. This Assembly is not an assembly of **ALL** the nations held in captivity. Its beautifully expressed aim has been, and still

“At a time when in the free part of the world, **peoples** who have never enjoyed self-government in the past are gradually attaining nationhood and are assisted by the United Nations in the achievement of their rightful aspirations — the exact reverse process has been taking place in Central and Eastern Europe.” — (ACEN statement, Sept. 20, 1954).

Addendum: And this “reverse process” has been going on in Czecho-Slovakia (even under the leadership of T. G. Masaryk and Dr. Edward Beneš) ever since the birth of that glorified “isle of democracy.” The Slovaks never enjoyed self-government or home rule within the framework of Czecho-Slovakia — not even after members of the present “political representations in exile,” who now claim to be “the genuine voice of the peoples,” were members of the Czecho-Slovak government.

is, refuted by the actions of this organization. Its actions belie its noble words. From its very beginning, this organization has been in sharp and basic conflict not only with its own expressed noble ideals, but even with its very own substance. It has not become a dynamic force for the realization of the idea of freedom and independence, but only an instrument of obsolete political garnitures and politi-

cal parties that have been crushed and cast off by Communism. Thinking in terms of their past functions, they want to bring back the past.

The organization, which — under the given international circumstances, at this twelfth hour, in this amazing shake-up of continents, in this transformation of people and nations, on this cross-roads of universal history — should have a great mission, has remained a paralyzed formation because it has renounced the magnanimity which its ideals had assured. Universally valid ideas and principles — being realized today in the jungles of Africa and Asiatic wastelands — have been scrapped by this organization when the same ideas and principles applied equally to all the nations of Central and Eastern Europe. The Assembly of Captive European Nations has, in fact, become an exclusive club of the privileged. Instead of being the interpreter of the will of the historical, organic and live nations before the world public opinion, in the press, publications, in cultural, scientific and political institutions, in international organizations, in propaganda organs, in parliaments and congresses, in diplomatic and military circles, this organization has become the interpreter of select and dying political garnitures.

After so many tragic experiences of the nations of Central and Eastern Europe, after so many disappointments and much suffering, after so many mistakes and catastrophies, Europe and the non-Communist world in general do have the right to learn the truth, the whole truth about the political and national realities of the area which today is primarily dependent on the Kremlin. The fact is that the people in responsible positions in the Assembly of Captive European Nations have not come out with the whole truth, and the Western world, making international politics, has not as yet made up its mind to press for the whole truth to find out what the nations in Soviet captivity really want and how they picture the reorganization of Central and Eastern Europe.

Europe and the non-Communist world should not be expected to accept, in the name of freedom and independence, political products which time has made obsolete and

which the moths have eaten through. This Europe going forward with renovation, this Europe which in the interest of its own preservation is on the road to unification on the basis of the positive Christian forces within it existing, as expressed in the national individualities, — this non-Communist world, which is being organized on the basis of freedom and independence of the African and Asiatic tribes, cannot be permanently deceived as far as the will of the nations of Central and Eastern Europe is concerned.

If on the strength of the idea freedom and independence, the Albanians, Bulgarians, **Czechoslovakians**, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, **Hungarians**, Poles, and Rumanians are represented in the Assembly of Captive European Nations, why are not, on the strength of the same concept of freedom and independence, the Slovaks, Ukrainians, Czechs, Byelorussians, Croatians, Slovenians, Serbians, and the rest of the European national individualities, represented there by their interpreters, since they all suffer the same fate?

This apparent conflict between idea and deed debases even the positive things the organization has accomplished and can still accomplish. One cannot work constructively

"We herewith declare our solidarity and pledge our assistance to all who are oppressed, to those who are being wronged, to the exploited, to the down-trodden, to the betrayed, whatever their nationality, race or creed. The misuse of justified national and social aspirations by oppressive international Communism must be stopped." — Statement of ACEN, Sept. 20, 1954).

Words, words, words — sterile words! The fact is that the Assembly of Captive European Nations ignores and repudiates the right of the Slovaks, Ukrainians, Croatians, Slovenians, etc., to freedom, independence, and self-determination. Indeed, the "misuse of justified national and social aspirations" even of oppressive "Czechoslovakism" must be stopped!

and successfully for the common good of Europe and the non-Communist world if he is burdened with basic ideological, political and moral conflicts. One cannot logically be for freedom and independence of **A L L** nations and, at the same time, against the freedom and independence of **SOME** nations. One cannot logically and honestly be for the freedom and independence of a political territory, but

opposed to the freedom and independence of the peoples within that territory. People who always have their heads turned back to the past (the old order in which they functioned as officials) cannot move along with the development of Europe and the world.

If the people of the Assembly of Captive European Nations can have recourse to any kind of legitimacy, the latter can have validity only as long as those "representatives" express the authentic will of their respective nations, and as long as by word and deed they are identified with the concept of freedom and independence of every nation. Furthermore, politically, morally, and legally it is not right to base the legitimacy of expressing the will of the national societies of today on the basis of the legitimacies of political parties and group interests of societies which today do not exist. The nations even in this bondage, in this captivity, have gone forward and new generations have come to the fore in the historical continuity of these nations. Now, what have the adherents of the old political garnitures to say, to these new generations that really means anything? Their political titles and functions are meaningless. And the political records of many, based on their political beliefs, are records of mockery of the concept of freedom and independence. Some were promoters of the modern feudalistic state, the almighty state based on materialistic socialism.

To these new generations, which already have — and will — form ranks, one can approach only with the concept of genuine freedom and independence, only with principles of Christian world-outlook, only with aims that are in accord with their will and the attainment and realization of which will mean not only satisfying every nation that has been deprived of freedom and independence, but also making a substantial contribution to the common good of a united Europe.

The Right of Self-Determination Is Indivisible

The Parisian daily LE FIGARO of October 18, 1961, devoted its entire fifth page to the meeting of exiled politicians and diplomats who are members of the Assembly

of Captive Nations. The editress, Dominique Auclere, had an extensive interview with seven of them. The title, set up in large bold type, read: **ONE HUNDRED MILLION EUROPEANS DEMAND RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.**"

According to the editress, the Parisian Congress was called to discuss the ways that would enable the nations in captivity to attain the **privilege** — so generously granted others — to the right of self-determination. She presented the select group of seven as the "spokesmen" of the nations which could not freely express themselves.

"This congress," she said, "is of great importance, because the subject to be discussed is very close to our hearts: the right to self-determination." Now, gentlemen, the first question: "What do you expect from Europe?"

Reply: "Everything."

Q. "Don't you think that the youth has joined Communism?"

A. "No. We wanted to practice co-existence, but all our concessions and sacrifices were in vain. The Russians did

Dr. Joseph Lettrich, chairman of the newly-baked postwar "Slovak Democratic Party" in Slovakia, headed the "Czechoslovak" delegation at ACEN's conference in Paris, Oct. 18-20, 1961. He signed two agreements — the first in 1943, and the second in 1945 — with the Communists in Slovakia to collaborate fully with them. Of Slovak birth, he nevertheless has repudiated the right of his people to freedom, independence, and self-determination.

not tolerate any governments, save those in which the Communists predominated."

Q. What else should the West have done?"

A. "We reproach the West and Europe, too, for not opposing the status as was demanded (incorporating the countries of Central and Eastern Europe within the Soviet sphere). A counterattack at the liberation of the captive nations, was very much desired. . . . In Czecho-Slovakia the elections in May, 1946, were only relatively free. The presence of the Red Army was felt . . . nevertheless the majority voted democratic. A putsch was made against this ma-

jority in 1948... THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION IS INDIVISIBLE whether we consider Berlin and Germany, or the captive nations. Africans and Asiatics are enjoying this right. Demand — (addressing the French and the West) — to place the question of self-determination for our countries on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations."

"The question of self-determination of our nations should not be the subject of discussion of only the General Assembly of the United Nations, but of every discussion between the West and the East... We agree with the right of self-determination which was granted to the countries, the races and tribes of Africa. BUT WHAT ABOUT US — ARE WE INFECTED WITH THE PLAGUE?"

"You did not know how to exploit the opportunity in 1949 when the USSR was forced to abandon the blockade of Berlin; at the time you had nuclear prevalance. Such an opportunity, which I evaluate as historical, will not come again. But the problem of Berlin is here again. Do not resolve it in an isolationist fashion. Do not say: to speak of the nations in captivity would provoke the Soviet Union.... The spirit of resistance in our countries is a condition of your security. You do not have to figure with that as long as you were not open to attack from the Soviet Union, but now you must think about it."

"All our nations in prevailing majority are anti-Communistic. But if we, despite all disappointments, still preserve our faith in the will of Europe to grant us self-determination, our nations, because they are held in captivity, are more vulnerable than we in emigration are.... Europe is not divided and does not appear to be solidified with Europeans of the East.... You go to conferences and subject yourself to methods, which Hitler invented and which Stalin used, and now that Khrushchev is using. At these conferences you have nothing to gain and the others have nothing to lose. Take over the offensive! Demand the unification of Germany and self-determination for Eastern Europe, and say: If you want peace, then you shall have to remove all remnants and consequences which issued illegally out of the war.... How could the West allow Soviet Rus-

sia to become the champion of freedom, that Soviet Russia which has enslaved half of Europe? This is really scandalous! Why is it not said: Let us apply self-determination to ALL the nations of the world, including the countries of Eastern Europe!... France has granted so many African countries independence that we have decided to formulate here our demand to the right of self-determination. **THE MATTER OF FREEDOM IS INDIVISIBLE!**"

It must be admitted with satisfaction that the members of the congress expressed principles that are moving the world and without respecting which it is not possible to demolish the world of slavery and to build the foundations for a new world of justice, equality and cooperation. However, it is easy to express great and noble ideas. Even leading Reds have resorted to them when it served their purpose. Many people keep on washing out their throats with the noblest ideas, but their minds and their deeds are far away from these ideas. It is in this moral conflict that the dissolution of society rests, the dissolution and decay of

The Assembly of Captive European Nations requested the General Assembly of the United Nations to look into deportations and forced transfers of population "carried out by the Soviet Union" (Resolution of 7th Plenary Meeting, Nov. 7, 1954, and Resolution of 10th Plenary Meeting, Dec. 18, 1954), but conveniently ignored the brutal transfer of the Sudeten and other Germans from their homeland by Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, etc. Why?

institutions and also of the best formulated programs. Words without actions are sterile. Clothes do not make the monk.

"**THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION IS INDIVISIBLE... THE MATTER OF FREEDOM IS INDIVISIBLE**" — said the members at the conference of European Captive Nations. In other words, in this matter of freedom and independence ALL nations must be considered — and none considered more privileged than others. On this we can heartily agree. Why then, we ask, is the Assembly of Captive European Nations limited to nine countries? Nine political territories or formations are members of the Assembly, and there are representatives to speak for these

territories, but who is really authorized or entitled to speak for the nations within those territories?

Who, for example, speaks for the Slovaks? And the Czechs? We know that the persons who presume to speak for "CZECHOSLOVAKIA" are definitely opposed to freedom and independence for the Slovaks and the Czechs, because they are working for the liberation of "Czechoslovakia" and not the liberation of the Slovak and Czech nations.

People who could not break with the past, who have their minds and hearts burdened with weeds of fictions, cannot be the builders of a new and just order in Central and Eastern Europe. People who knowingly sin against the evident principles of the self-determination of nations, who in a concrete case deny this right of self-determination to the Slovak nation, demonstrate before the world public that they are not seriously concerned with the idea of self-determination. They are dishonest. Otherwise, how can they draw the just sword of self-determination against the Soviet Union and, at the same time, with the same sword, behead the freedom and independence of the Slovak nation?

But here we are concerned not only with the Slovak nation, but also with many other nations that equally base their future on the validation of the right of self-determination. It is very significant, indeed, that the politicians and diplomats in the Assembly of Captive European Nations preferred and still prefer to ignore them.

"We agree with the right of self-determination that was granted to the countries, races and tribes of Africa, but how about us, are we infected with the plague?" — one of the leading members of the Assembly of Captive European Nations said in just anger.

In like manner, the Slovak nation asks the West, and particularly the Assembly of the Captive European Nations — which announced at its Paris Conference that it demands the validation of the right of self-determination for the nations of Central and Eastern Europe: "And how about us? Are we Slovaks infected with the plague?" Does not the right to self-determination apply to the Slovak nation —

the oldest Christian nation in Central Europe — to the extent that it applies to cannibals of the African jungle?

An organization which violates, even partially, its own principles and universally valid principles, loses its political and moral right to reproach the Communist world for violating the right of self-determination — and to cast up to the West its inconsistencies and deficiencies in regard to the nations of Central and Eastern Europe.

All Nations Are Entitled To Freedom

When the editress of *Le Figaro* asked the members of the Assembly of Captive European Nations how many people demanded self-determination, they answered unanimously: ONE HUNDRED MILLION. This reply is in full accord with the idea which the organization would want to express, but which in practice it denies or repudiates. The name of the organization plainly speaks of NATIONS and not of STATES. Certainly it must be quite clear to the representatives of this organization that it is peoples, national associations, therefore, live and historic personalities that bear an idea, who express an idea, who defend an idea and fight for it. Therefore, the conflict between the

“Our political representations in exile are the **genuine** voice of our peoples. They represent our nations’ will and desire for independence, freedom, and the **democratic** form of government. They represent the democratic spiritual, political, and social convictions and aspirations which persist among the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe.” — Statement of ACEN, Sept. 20, 1954).

Dr. Stephen Osuský, chairman of the “**Czechoslovak**” delegation or representation, was never elected to any office by his people. He does not represent the CZECH people, and, even though a SLOVAK by birth, he does not represent the SLOVAK people, and, hence, cannot be the “**genuine voice**” of these peoples. As chairman, he has never publicly come out for freedom, independence, and self-determination for his people — the SLOVAK people.

concept and reality is all the more apparent, since this organization established its status and structure on the basis of states and did not remain loyal to national individualities. The right of self-determination belongs to a person, to people, to nations. Only through this right of self-determin-

ation do we get to the state, to national and state independence. But not conversely.

What moral and political capital the organization of the Assembly of Captive European Nations could have enjoyed if it had remained loyal to itself and the principles which it undertook to defend and had demanded their validation to the fullest extent! The fact that in practice it bound itself up with the fate of state, therefore secondary, aims — subordinating nations to state formations — it has deprived itself of reality and, as a result of this, also of attractiveness for the nations that are waging their fight for freedom and independence in the name of the right of self-determination.

But that is not all. Limiting itself only to the territorial part of Central and Eastern Europe and, therefore, rejecting a priori the benefits and positive effectiveness of the right of self-determination of the Slovaks, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Croatians, Slovenes, Serbians, and other live organisms which consider themselves nations, the Assembly of Captive European Nations has unmasked the utter nakedness of its interior, in which there is entirely too much insincerity and very little dedication to the common good, in which prevails sectarian obstinacy and very little political wisdom, and in which decisions are made not according to the needs of great European and Christian aims, but according to the needs of small, indeed very small, needs of personal and group aims and interests.

How is one to explain the fact that the Assembly side-tracked Yugoslavia where the Communist law governs no less than it does in the Soviet Union, Albania, China, Czechoslovakia, and Cuba? The Assembly had spoken: **FREE-DOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE NATIONS IS INDIVISIBLE!** The right of self-determination is valid for **ALL** nations. If the Assembly of Captive European Nations repudiates this right for some nations or any one nation, it deserves to be repudiated by the West and cast out on the political rubbish heap. Its representatives are not truly interested in a new and just democratic order of Europe, but only in an exchange of political garnitures in the states

which they claim to represent, or, in effect, they are telling the West: **we stand for the old order, but not the present regimes.**

Of course, the representatives of the Assembly can claim — as they even do — that they cannot include **ALL** nations in their program, because the great powers recognize diplomatically the existing states in Central and Eastern Europe. The great powers have their reasons for such recognition, even though it is not consistent with their expressed policies and, for practical purposes, is even detrimental to the common good. Many informed observers believe it would have been better **not** to have granted recognition to states whose rulers are dedicated to the enslavement of their subjects and, in fact, to the destruction of the entire free world. But what reasons can an organization like the Assembly have for its conduct — an organization which should be nurtured with the revolutionary and creative spirit of reconstructing order in the sense of the principles which it proclaims and which should be concerned about, in the first place, with a permanent balance of this part of Europe — its Central and Eastern area?

Even in politics it is not possible to serve two masters. The Assembly of Captive European Nations — as attested to by its record of action — serves not two masters, but all masters who want to permanently warm their soup on the noble and clean fire of concept of freedom, independence, and the right of self-determination. One cannot therefore declare that, for example, the Albanians have a right to freedom, independence, and self-determination already today, but that the Slovaks, Croatians, Ukrainians, etc., will be granted that right tomorrow. Speaking and writing for the gallery, from which one expects not only applause, but political and material help as well, one cannot state that the business of freedom, independence, and self-determination of the Poles, Germans, Rumanians, etc., is a matter of validifying the principles of freedom, independence and self-determination, but that the matter of freedom, independence, and self-determination of the Slovaks is the business of the Czechs, that of the Croatians the business of

the Serbians, that of the Ukrainians the business of the Russians, etc.

At a time when the nations in Communist captivity are demanding concrete expression of their own desires, when they are waiting for political motives that would be worthy of their sacrifices and resistance, it is not possible to approach them with the useless, dried-out and stripped branch, broken from the tree of freedom, independence, and self-determination by the careless hands of politicians who are obsessed with their past. From the fruit of this tree of freedom, independence and self-determination — which has for long years been sprinkled with their own blood and sweat — the Slovaks, Ukrainians, Croatians, etc., want an equal share. And not tomorrow, but today.

As long as the Assembly of Captive European Nations does not bring its own house in order, as long as it promotes self-determination, freedom, and independence only for SOME, but not ALL nations, it will remain in permanent conflict with those noble concepts and those nations to whom it denies the right of self-determination, freedom, and independence. And finally it will be in a paradoxical position: the nations ignored or avoided by it shall have to persistently fight against it in the name of the concept of freedom, independence, and self-determination, as they are now fighting and shall always fight against every violence and every falsehood.

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HUNGARIAN EXILES AND SLOVAK INDEPENDENCE

BY GEORGE NAGY

In his article, which appeared in the September-December (1960) issue of "SLOVAKIA" entitled "Magyar Exiles and Slovakia," Dr. Joseph Kirschbaum brings up the question why official Hungarian exile circles, notably the Hungarian National Council of New York, are not cooperating with the exiled Slovak independence movement and why several Hungarian "journalists and more or less known diplomats," notably Andrew Gyorgy, Stephen Kertesz, and Stephen Borsody, in their scientific works show a lack of objectivity regarding Slovakia and the Slovaks.

Before trying to clarify these questions, I have to object to Dr. Kirschbaum's constant use of the expression "Magyar" instead of "Hungarian." While, in the **Hungarian** language, the terms "Hungaria" and "Hungarian" are unknown, they are generally used throughout the Western world and can, therefore, not arbitrarily be replaced in English (French, German, etc.) by the expression "Magyar." To use the word "Hungary" as a geographical term — intending to indicate that historical Hungary against present-day Hungary has been inhabited not by "Magyars" alone, but by Slovaks, Croatsians, and other nationalities, too — might serve as an artificial justification for certain Slovak claims to parts of Hungarian history, coat-of-arms, etc., but is both historically wrong and linguistically mistaken, because originally the expression "Hungarian," derived from the words "Onogur," "Ungur," was the name by which the **Hungarian** tribes were called in Europe (mainly by the Germans) before entering the Danube Basin.

Returning now to the questions brought up by Dr. Kirschbaum, I have to deal with the different aspects involved in this problem.

First of all, up to now, due to an outdated political misconception supported by legalistic conservatism, the United States Government recognizes Czecho-Slovakia, and, consequently, the Czecho-Slovak, and not the Czech and

Slovak exile groups and their organizations only. For this reason, all other exile groups which are recognized by the U. S. Administration, including the Hungarian National Council, have to deal with the "Council of Free Czechoslovakia" as the only officially recognized representative organization of both Czech and Slovak exile groups.

Apart from this fact, it is undeniable that many Hungarian politicians, especially those of the elder generation, considered the Czechs and not the Slovaks as the ones with whom Hungary had to deal in questions regarding relations between Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia. The reason for this attitude is plausible, if we consider the historical developments of the past. Since medieval times, the Czechs played an important part in the history of Central Europe and their influence was often prominent, if not dominant, in directing both external and domestic affairs of the Habsburg Monarchy. Then, after the First World War, when Czecho-Slovakia was born, Beneš and Masaryk, who forged the new and unhappy order of Central Europe, became de facto dictators of the international affairs of that area. So great was their prestige and their influence in the chancelleries of Western Europe that there was hardly any chance to conduct successful political negotiations in the Danube Basin, and, of course, regarding Czecho-Slovakia, without their participation.

In spite of the lessons taught to us by the history of the past forty years, and particularly since 1945, much of the false glory of Beneš's political conception is still alive, especially in American official and intellectual circles. The influence of this spirit is felt strongly in many a scientific work written even in recent times and a clear indication of it can be found in the preface of Borsody's book, too.

Another reason for the lack of understanding of the Slovak problem is the fact that Slovak national consciousness is of a rather recent origin. While Slovak intellectuals cherished the idea of Slovak autonomy long ago and fought later for independence, the broad masses of the people embraced these aspirations fully only after Slovakia did gain its independence in 1939 and made a success of it. There-

fore, any outsider, who did not follow closely the developments which led to Slovak independence and the astonishing achievements of the Slovak State during its short-lived existence, is naturally inclined to underestimate the effect that these events had on the minds of the Slovak people.

Hungarian politicians of that time were mostly too pre-occupied with the mounting pressure of international events upon the fate of Hungary itself to devote much of their attention to a thorough study of the developments in Slovakia. Few of them had a chance, as I did, to witness closely what went on beyond Hungary's northern border. It is the duty of the few of us who followed the Slovak independence movement closely to take the initiative and eliminate past misunderstandings. The differences between Slovaks and Hungarians have to be settled between Bratislava and Budapest, without outside interference by Czechs or anybody else. But, as our peoples in our homelands are at present prevented from expressing their free will, it is up to us, exile groups in the Free World, to join forces and to pave the way for a sincere understanding and friendship between our two peoples. I am convinced that our close cooperation in working together for the restoration of Slovak independence could become a key factor in creating a new and healthy political order in the Danube Basin after its liberation from Soviet domination.



MORE CLARIFICATION NEEDED

I fully appreciate the effort of Mr. George Nagy, Secretary-General of the Canadian-Hungarian Federation, to clarify some questions relating to Hungarian (Magyar)-Slovak relations. He is, of course, entitled to his opinions. History, however, is — rather should be — based on facts. And the fact is that Magyar historians, politicians, statesmen, and even religious leaders have thus far preferred either to ignore the Slovaks of both past and present Hungary or to humiliate and villify them when referring to them in their writings. Certainly it is a situation that should be corrected.

In his attempt to clarify the question raised by Dr. Joseph Kirschbaum, Mr. Nagy makes several good points, but in several instances, unfortunately, only adds to the confusion which he attempts to dispel.

He objects "to the constant use of the expression 'Magyar' instead of 'Hungarian', because," he says: "While, in the Hungarian language, the terms 'Hungaria' and 'Hungarian' are unknown, they

are generally used throughout the Western world and can, therefore, not arbitrarily be replaced in English, (French, German, etc.), by the expression 'Magyar'."

What is Mr. Nagy trying to sell?

Now, why are those terms unknown in the HUNGARIAN language? Simply because there is no HUNGARIAN language! But there is a MAGYAR language. The terms, however, are very well known — and have been for centuries — in the SLOVAK language. Hungary is a political entity, a multi-national state. The official language of the country, since the Magyars dominated it, has always been MAGYAR — and to the Magyars the land of Hungary has always been **MAGYARORSZÁG** — Magyarland, presently **Magyar Nepkoztarsasag** — People's Republic of Magyarland), and so they always insisted on using the English **HUNGARY** for the Magyar **MAGYARORSZÁG**, even though the term HUNGARY, as Nagy says, does not exist in the HUNGARIAN (he means Magyar) language.

There is no **Hungarian** language, but practically all **Magyar** periodicals, writers, scholars, scientists and artists are labeled **Hungarian**. Gyula von Zathureczky, we read just recently (**SUDETEN BULLETIN**, Dec. 1961), now residing in Munich, Germany, is a freelance writer, "formerly editor-in-chief of the **Hungarian** daily **ELLENZÉK** and Berlin correspondent for various **Hungarian** papers."

Furthermore, the Slovaks do not have to resort to "artificial justification" for any claims they may have "to parts of Hungarian" history. The historical fact is that the forefathers of the Slovaks inhabited the territory of Hungary long before the forebears of the Magyars invaded it.

"It is both historically wrong and linguistically mistaken" to use the term Magyar instead of Hungary, declares Mr. Nagy, "because originally the expression '**Hungarian**' — derived from the words '**Onogur**', '**Ungur**' — was the name by which the Hungarian tribes were called in Europe (mainly by the Germans) before entering the Danube basin."

This I cannot buy. The "Hungarian tribes," referred to by Nagy could hardly have been "Hungarian tribes" before they entered the Danubian basin, the territory of Hungary. If the Germans or any other people called those tribes "Onogur" or "Ungur," as Nagy claims, they must have had some reason for it. Nagy's attempt to make **Hungary** = **MAGYAR** falls short again. Those terms, Nagy had told us, are unknown in the Magyar language. But they are known in the Slovak language (úhor; úhorie; Uhor; Uhry; uhorský). But there is no "**uhorčina**" — Hungarian language, just as there is no "**českoslovenčina**" — Czechoslovak language. The "Hungarian tribes" referred to must have been the forebears of the Slovaks.

What Mr. Nagy has to say about Czecho-Slovakia (use the hyphen, please!), and T. G. Masaryk and Dr. Edward Beneš, is in a large sense true. But that is hardly sufficient reason — if it is really interested in truth and justice — that the Hungarian National Council should "**HAVE TO**" deal with the so-called Council of Free Czechoslovakia. I say that even though it still may be "the only officially recognized representative organization of both Czech and Slo-

vak exile groups" — recognized as such by the United States Government or any other government.

Mr. Nagy and the Hungarian National Council know that the "Council of Free Czechoslovakia" is completely dominated by the Beneš Czechs, the Czech socialists who collaborated fully with the Czech Reds and Moscow, especially since 1945. If Magyars or Hungarians prefer to deal with the people of the "Council of Free Czechoslovakia" — who deny the right of self-determination to the Slovak nation and are in principle opposed to Slovak freedom and independence — they do so at their own peril. To go along with such people because they still enjoy prestige and recognition means to make a mockery of democracy, justice and the right. Principles should not be sacrificed for expediency.

Slovak nationalism, Mr. Nagy indicates, is of "rather recent origin." How recent? When did national states originate in Europe? How many were there before the 19th century? Will Mr. Nagy deny that the Magyars considered themselves the "State-nation" and really became chauvinistic after the establishment of the Dual-Monarchy in 1867?

Preoccupation with anything else but matters of State can make for the downfall of a political formation. The fate of Austria-Hungary was decided by politicians who were "too preoccupied with mounting pressure of international events" to see what was happening inside the country. The Magyars of Hungary adamantly opposed Slovak autonomy — and lost Slovakia. The Masaryk-Beneš "democracy" of Czecho-Slovakia — a bad copy of old Austria-Hungary — also collapsed: the Czechs, even though T. G. Masaryk had guaranteed it in writing (The Pittsburgh Pact, May 30, 1918), denied autonomy to the Slovaks — and lost them. Sure, Czecho-Slovakia still exists on paper and is recognized as the land of the Slovaks and the Czechs, but as far as the Slovaks are concerned, it is deadlier than the proverbial door nail.

The time to work for Magyar-Hungarian and Slovak independence is NOW — and not after Magyar-Hungarians and Slovaks are liberated from Soviet domination. The Slovaks at home and abroad will continue to fight the plague of Communism — as they have fought it for the past 100 years — even if the Magyars and Czechs, Hungarians and Czechoslovaks do collaborate with it or with its former collaborators. They do not want to be told that they **MUST** join with the **CZECHS** to fight the Reds — and specifically with those Czechs who, after February 25, 1948, suddenly became "democratic, anti-Communist exiles from Czecho-Slovakia." The Slovaks are in the same boat as the Magyar-Hungarians, the Czechs, the Serbo-Slovenian-Croatian Yugoslavs, the Poles, Chinese, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, East Germans, Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians, and others who were sacrificed to the Red Moloch of Moscow by the drunk-with-victory United Nations. All want to be free and independent of alien rule, no matter how benevolent it may appear to be; all want to be masters of their own destiny.

Let us remember: expedients are for the hour; principles for the ages. Justice delayed, is justice denied.

P. A. HROBAK.

BENEŠ AND MOSCOW

Prague and Moscow are wont to pompously celebrate December 12th of each year; it was on that day in 1943 that the ill-fated Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty of friendship, mutual aid and postwar collaboration was signed. In reality the name of the treaty is not correct; it should be titled the **Beneš-Soviet Treaty**, because Czecho-Slovakia, the duly elected representatives of that state, had nothing to do with it. The Slovaks certainly had no word in it. Furthermore, Beneš — having resigned in 1938 — had absolutely no authority to negotiate any treaties.

Since December 12, 1943, when the treaty was signed in the presence of Dr. Edward Beneš, much has changed in the world. The Second World War came to a close and the wartime united nations began to fall apart because of the Soviet Union.

Dr. Beneš stresses in his MEMOIRS (Paměti, p. 242) that the treaty came about at his request. In March, 1943, he asked Ambassador Bogomolov, among other things, whether Moscow was ready to conclude a treaty with Czecho-Slovakia. The reply was made on April 23rd, when Bogomolov "brought a positive answer in essential points" and said: "The Soviet Government therefore invites you to prepare a draft of the treaty and submit it to the Soviet Government."

Dr. Edward Beneš then prepared the draft of the treaty with John Masaryk and Dr. Hubert Ripka. This treaty was to dispel any mistrust of the West for the Soviet Union and demonstrate that the Soviet Union does not want to engulf Czecho-Slovakia or any other European states. Furthermore, the treaty could be pointed to "as an example, even in the U. S. A., and that the Allies, particularly the greater Powers, would thereby be fundamentally drawn closer together. All unfounded suspicions of the Soviet Union would be allayed or eliminated, and this would help to prepare the ground for what finally took place at both the Allied Conferences in Moscow and Teheran" (Beneš's Message to the State Council, London, Feb. 3, 1944: **EAST AND WEST**, Hubert Ripka, 1944; p. 135).

According to Ripka, it is not only Czecho-Slovakia that benefits by the Treaty, but also the Soviet Union:

"But its value assuredly resides also in its very significant bearings on the interests of the Soviet Union; on the one hand it very effectively promotes the security of the Soviet Union against the aggressive designs of Germany, which, as far as Central Europe is concerned, are countered first and foremost by Czecho-Slovakia as a truly powerful bastion, and on the other hand it grants at the same time a definite guarantee that in this area there is no possibility for the creation of a sufficiently powerful bloc which could seriously menace Soviet security" (Ripka: pp. 124-125).

Thereby, too, "an end had been made to all attempts, the folly of which might long ago have been clear, seeking to bring about the isolation of the Soviet Union from the rest of Europe by some confederated middle zone, in which it was only too plain that the former anti-Soviet cordon sanitaire was to be restored to life. I may add in passing that all such schemes were impossible to put into effect for the sole reason that Czecho-Slovakia would never have participated in them" (Ripka: p. 113).

There is no doubt that Czech politicians knowingly and intentionally worked to get the nations of central Europe within the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union. Beneš's wish was fulfilled: the treaty became a model for Moscow to attain this end. Accordingly similar treaties were concluded with the rest of the nations of this part of Europe: with Yugoslavia on April 11, 1945; with Poland on April 21, 1945; with Rumania on February 4, 1948; with Hungary on February 18, 1948; with Bulgaria on March 18, 1948, and with Finland on April 6, 1948.

Within the framework of this allied system treaties were negotiated between the individual satellite states: between Poland and Yugoslavia on March 18, 1946; between Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia on May 9, 1946; between Albania and Yugoslavia on July 9, 1946; between Czecho-Slovakia and Poland on March 10, 1947; between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on November 27, 1947; between Hungary and Yugoslavia on December 8, 1947; between Albania and Bulgaria on December 16, 1947; between Rumania and Yugoslavia on December 19, 1947; between Bulgaria and Rumania on January 16, 1948; between Hungary and Ru-

mania on January 24, 1948; between Czecho-Slovakia and Bulgaria on April 23, 1948.

Therefore Dr. Edward Beneš and his collaborators not only theoretically but also practically to the very last moment did everything to strengthen the sphere of influence of Moscow in central Europe.

The pro-Soviet policy of Beneš was accepted by the Czechs without any reservations. This was the political line of the Czech leaders who directed the destiny of the Slovak and Czech nations after 1945.

Dr. Ivo Ducháček expressed the mind of the Czech politicians on March 8, 1946, when he said in the Provisional National Parliament:

"It is not, therefore, just a phrase when we say that our alliance with the Soviet Union is the pillar of our foreign policy. What other pillar, if it is not to be created out of paper, could we possibly have? Our pact with the Soviet Union guarantees us immediate help of the Red Army in case we are threatened. The pact with brotherly Russia, which is the foundation of our foreign and military policy is, it is true, also an expression of our joint efforts and interests.

"Therefore the Czecho-Slovak People's Party (Šrámek's CZECH Populist Party), whose chairman contributed in such a significant way to conclude the treaty with Russia even before the end of the war, even though certain elements of the West were against this, fully agrees with the theme that this alliance with Russia must not be a subject of partisan discussions, and must not be dragged into the pre-election campaign. The alliance with Russia is the affair of all the parties of the National Front, it is the result of their joint effort, it is the affair of the entire nation and not the affair of one party. If the treaty is a common affair, then the merits for concluding this treaty are also a joint matter. No party has the right to claim exclusive credit for it. This treaty was prepared after due discussion by Šrámek's government in London. The Communists, we know, were not members of the government and, therefore, have no direct participation in the treaty, nevertheless the Communists collaborated with the government within the framework of the State Council; and the politicians who emigrated to Moscow undoubtedly also helped the successful course of negotiations with their conversations with Soviet leaders. Therefore, even though the Communists were not in the London government, which discussed and concluded the treaty, the credit for concluding this historic treaty really belongs to all of us, to all the parties of the National Front. Finally, this competition for the credit of concluding the treaty with the Soviet Union is not in substance a sickly sign. It really proves and again confirms that all the people of this country really stand behind this treaty."

According to Dr. V. Bernard, who also spoke in the Czech parliament on March 8, 1946, "the Czecho-Slovak-Soviet Treaty must continue to remain the nucleus of our foreign policy, because the alliance with the Soviet Union is the most reliable guarantee of the independence of our Republic and the assurance against any attack in the future. Our alliance with the Soviet Union in the end is not the object of any internal political quarrel, and everyone concerned with the security of the Republic, observing the development in the world with open eyes, must be a sincere adherent of this orientation in our foreign policy."

It is assuredly noteworthy that Dr. Edward Beneš and his co-workers, most of whom today are refugees in the West, saw in the treaty of alliance with Soviet Russia not only the means of attaining an international goal, but also envisioned the realization of Pan-Slavistic and socialistic goals. Dr. Beneš himself expressed this clearly on various occasions. And Dr. V. Bernard, too, is concerned with ideological reasons, inasmuch as he said. "we cannot help but see the connection of international policy with the relationship between the forces of decadent capitalism and progressive socialism in universal extent."

Czech politicians labored to attain their chauvinistic aims so that with the aid of this treaty they could assure for the Czech nation hegemony over Slovakia in their conflict with the Slovak people, and also so that they could realize the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans and thus to Czechize the Sudetenland. This was stressed by both Dr. Hubert Ripka in his statement to the State Council in London on May 15, 1943, and also by Dr. Edward Beneš in his Moscow broadcast of December 21, 1943.

This treaty expresses the thinking of Czech politicians and their partners from Slovakia. On various occasions they consistently and in varied forms did not hesitate to remind us that, in the case of misunderstanding arising between the East and West, they would remain on the side of the East. At that time they ruled with Beneš by the grace of Stalin. They (Kočvara, Zenkl, Lettrich, F. Hodža, Ducháček, Táborský, etc.) suddenly became "anti-commu-

nist" after February 25, 1948. But up to that time they faithfully followed Beneš's pro-Soviet line ad nuseam. They were not the victims of a mistake, nor were they deceived. They knew what they were doing without regard to the development of world politics.

And what about the eventuality of the West collaborating with the Germans as a defense against Soviet aggression? The Czechs also thought about that, as Ripka so clearly stated in 1944:

"Some Central and Eastern-European politicians... assume that Britain and America will be unable to suffer Russia to be predominant on the continent of Europe and that, although the Anglo-Saxon countries may not now be able to prevent Russia from realizing her territorial or other claims, they will strive, after the war, to curtail her power and later to effect a 'reasonable adjustment' of the Soviet 'annexations.' Anyone cherishing hopes of this nature is simply speculating on a new world war; and the realization of such plans necessarily presupposes an alliance between the Anglo-Saxon countries and Germany, since without Germany they cannot be put into effect" (Hubert Ripka: **EAST AND WEST**, London, 1944; p. 62).

It is obvious that between the aims of Soviet policy and the aims of the policy of Dr. Edward Beneš and his followers, who today are in emigration, there were no basic differences. That they could not continue at home in their efforts is not because they changed their political line, but simply because Moscow no longer had any interest to collaborate with Peter Zenkl, Hubert Ripka, Joseph Lettrich, Fedor Hodža, Adolph Procházka, Václav Majer. It did nothing to prevent their departure to the West. In fact it facilitated it by making the necessary provisions so they could "escape" without any difficulty to promote their political line in the main cities of the West. They are still against the arming of West Germany and for the Russian Empire, discouraging the union of the West against Moscow imperialism.

The people joined together in the "Council of Free Czecho-Slovakia" have consistently followed the line formulated by Dr. A. Klatkovský:

"We are united with the Soviet Union for life and unto death... Not only because we have a common eastern boundary with our greatest ally, but more so because on our western border stands our greatest enemy. The guarantee of the greatest gain of our history —

the expulsion of the Germans — is the might of the Soviet Union, whose merit it also is that the expulsion was carried out so thoroughly. Our entire future is based on the expulsion of the Germans; any change in this direction would be our ruin... If war would come between the East and the West, and the East would be defeated, we would be as its ally hit the hardest, nay even ruined because the Germans would return to us. However, if in such a conflict we should stand with the West — even though this is practically unthinkable — we still would not escape the fate of the return of Germans. Therefore, the theme that we are united with the Soviet Union for life and unto death is a self-evident axiom of our foreign policy, whether anyone likes it or not. And, therefore, no government of ours can make anti-Soviet foreign policy. This would be suicidal politics and such a government would immediately be swept out by the people."

The Czechs have not changed. They still act like Schweiks on occasions, but they are still allied with Moscow more than with the West and its interests. In a word, the Czechs are still promoting Beneš's ruinous policy which made enemies of all non-Czech citizens in Czecho-Slovakia and enemies of all neighboring countries. Because of that the Czech Schweiks now tell the world: **We are forced to hang with Russia!**

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ALL LAND in Slovakia, Moravia, and Bohemia has been nationalized. However, in Slovakia (predominantly an agricultural region) the farmers have shown more stubborn resistance to the new order, particularly in their fight to retain ownership of their cows. Latest available reports have it that about 50 per cent of all cows in Slovakia are still individually owned. Increased mechanization and stricter Party control is in evidence everywhere.

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ARTIA of Czecho-Slovakia has produced the first four records of a series called "Musica Nova Bohemica et Slovenica." Included is the **Balladic Suite** (Sua 10046) of

Eugen Suchoň, eminent Slovak composer. Dating from 1936, it is a lengthy opus for a large orchestra, "full of brilliant orchestral devices and strong melodic ideas," according to Alan Rich of The New York Times. Noting that Suchoň is a composer well worth investigation, Mr. Rich adds that Suchoň's Balladic Suite, "while its harmonic style is no more startling than that of the late Dvorak, Suchoň at least has the ability to operate freely and quite successfully within the framework of a bygone language." Suchoň also composed "The Whirlpool," a powerful tragic opera, and the "Psalm of the Carpathian Country," a brilliant large scale choral work.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

BY VLADIMÍR PEKELSKÝ

In the past several years some writers of our Czech exile have attempted to diagnose the tragedy of us all at home and in foreign lands. But they have had little success with it. J. M. Kolár, for example, is today already forgotten and the more actual Dr. Radimský has been elevated particularly by publishers and the Czech National Socialists. Both authors came out with much that was true, but they either did not want to or did not know how to express the whole truth. Perhaps they feared the consequences. And fear has big eyes. Nevertheless, many times it is not only fear, but opportunism and various other interests which prevent authors from writing about matters that might interest readers the most. It was just this that inspired me to touch upon problems which still are strictly taboo in most Czech exile publications.

Czecho-Slovakia 1918-1938

Today very few of our people want to recall the whole truth about the first Czecho-Slovak Republic. Without regard to nationality and political affiliation, that is. The younger generation, born after 1925, did not know the first Republic and, therefore, cannot make any judgments of it from personal experiences. For us oldsters it meant much, though only 20 years in the thousand-year history of our Czech nation, and the judgment of history may arouse only criticism, because with the establishment of Czecho-Slovakia the road for modern dictatorships into Central Europe was facilitated. In exile we have become accustomed to read — from articles of former collaborators of Dr. Edward Beneš — nothing but praise about the first republic. The writers deliberately fail to see the state bankruptcies of 1938-1939 and 1945-1948, the internal causes thereof. They blame everything on outside intervention.

The first Republic was presented to the world as a model of democracy, freedom, state order and welfare, and, were it not — according to them — for the bad Germans

and Russians, it still could have been the "perfection" it was. Not a word is said about the patronage of France. Thus they continue to falsify the facts, just as they did during the time of Masaryk and Beneš when huge sums were paid out to foreign journals and journalists to sing nothing but praises about the first Republic.

Of course, we can and we should recall the many good things about the first Czecho-Slovak Republic. Yet it would be irresponsible of us if we did not look into the causes of the bankruptcy and collapse of democratic Czecho-Slovakia within ourselves and in internal circumstances. Dr. Václav Bouček, principal defender of Masaryk and Beneš, did not flatter the state system of Czecho-Slovakia when he described it as a "quasi-democracy with a quasi-parliamentary system."

A multitude of good people, financially well-founded groups, investors, state officers, but also political barterers were satisfied with the then Prague regime. The propertyless groups of inhabitants, the indebted peasants and home owners, the unemployed and the adherents of non-Czech nationalities (e.g., the greater unemployment in the German sectors and the vain attempts of the new Slovak intelligentsia to fill positions in the public life of Slovakia) looked upon the state system with more or less criticism. And today very few of our people want to admit that communism had a significant voice in our political life from the very first years of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. But the fact is that it did. The following statistics show the results of three elections, the mandates won by the respective parties:

Political Party	Mandates won by the Parties		
	1920	1925	1935
C-S Social Democratic (1)	74	29	38
C-S People's Party (2)	33	31	22
C-S Agrarian (Republican) (3)	28	45	45
C-S National Socialist (4)	24	28	28
C-S National Democratic (5)	19	13	17
C-S Tradesmen's	6	13	17
C-S Progressive Socialist	3	--	--
Slovak National (6)	12	--	--
(Hlinka's) Slovak People's (7)	--	23	22
Czech National Fascist	--	--	6

German Socialist Democratic	31	17	11
German Community	15	--	--
German Nationalist	--	10	--
German National Socialist		7	--
German Agrarian	11	24	5
German Christian Socialists	10	13	6
German Democratic	5	--	--
Sudeten German	--	--	44
Magyar Agrarian	1	--	--
Magyar-German Soc. Dem.	4	--	--
Magyar Christian Socialist	5	4	--
Magyar Bloc	--	--	9
C-S Communist (8)	--	41	30
Others	--	2	--
Total Number of Mandates	285	300	300

- (1) The main worker's (socialist) party founded in 1878.
- (2) Hlinka's Slovak People's Party voted with this party in the 1920 elections and was allowed 12 mandates, while the resp. Czecho-Slovak People's Party (Šrámek's) got 21. The largest **Slovak** political party in Slovakia.
- (3) Founded by Antonín Švehla in 1899.
- (4) Founded by Czech socialists in 1896. Dr. Edward Beneš later became its leader.
- (5) Founded by Dr. Kramár in 1918; combined with the Czech National Union Party (Stríbrný's) before the 1935 elections.
- (6) Founded before the 1872 elections. In 1935 it voted with Hlinka's party as the Autonomist Bloc.
- (7) The Slovak People's (Populist) Party was founded by Father Andrew Hlinka, Dec. 5, 1905.
- (8) The Czecho-Slovak (read "CZECH") Communist Party was founded Nov. 2, 1920, after breaking with the Social Democrats; the deputies joining it: 23 Czecho-Slovak Social Democrats, 3 German Social Democrats, and 1 Magyar Social Democrat.

(The parties qualified as "Czecho-Slovak" were in fact Czech-dominated parties with affiliates in Slovakia. There were only two genuine SLOVAK political parties: the Hlinka Slovak People's Party and the Slovak National Party; both supported autonomy for Slovakia, the Pittsburgh Pact of May 30, 1918. — Ed. note).

The municipal election in Prague, May 29, 1938, showed the following five parties with the largest vote: Czech National Socialists — 151,600; Communists — 99,900; Social Democrats — 75,809; National Unity — 68,007; Czech Populist — 37,749.

In the 1925 parliamentary elections the Communist

Party received 933,711 votes; ten years later (1935) it got 849,000 votes.

Do the above statistics warrant the frequently used phrase "Masaryk's or Beneš's Republic" and calling the citizens of Czecho-Slovakia "the children of Masaryk"? Would any Czech want to say that the communists, Henleinists, Magyars, Poles, and Slovaks considered themselves "children of Masaryk"? It is a fact that even the Czech rightists criticized or repudiated Masaryk in a large measure. Not only the extreme groups but even a large part of the Czech National Democrats, Agrarians, and adherents of the Czech People's Party in Moravia.

We know that during the rule of Masaryk and Beneš many things were done which were not honorable. For example, already in 1924 freedom of the press was limited by Law No. 124, and the freedom of the press in the "democratic Czecho-Slovak Republic," so highly praised by Radio Free Europe even today, in reality looked much less free than in France, the United States and England. Various publications, not only those of the opposition, were frequently confiscated and censored and were issued with "white windows" or as "corrected" issues after censorship. At that time it was said that the journalists were thereby trained "to worship at the willows."

Corruption was extensive, but no law could be promulgated to wipe it out because political parties and many government people were against passing such a law. Hundreds of millions of crowns thus disappeared in bottomless pockets. We still remember the alcohol case, the gasoline affair, the corruption in the sugar business, in the construction of the electrical plant in Ervenice and the Fénix Insurance affair, and the corruption connected with the land reform, the parceling out of surplus estates.

In the first Republic even the elections cannot be called truly democratic. The broad masses of the people were not satisfied with the electoral system, because they were not allowed to choose candidates. The law, however, ordered all citizens to take part in the elections and to vote for the political parties and their selected candidates. Ob-

viously many incapable people thus became members of the parliament, interested not in the welfare of the people and the country, but in the first place in the welfare and power of their respective parties. Corruption flourished. Only the political key was used in forming a government and qualifications for a ministerial position meant practically nothing. The parties controlled all public service jobs in the State on the national and local levels. Since one had a large selection of political parties, quite a few citizens carried membership cards of several political parties.

Thus was the first Czecho-Slovak Republic undermined, as well as confidence in the State and the democratic system which hypocritically bore the slogan "Truth prevails" on its escutcheon — which even the present communist regime has allowed to remain on the State insignia.

The enthusiasm with which the Slovaks and Czechs welcomed the establishment of the Czecho-Slovak Republic in 1918 soon cooled and forced many hot heads into opposition. The ambitious Dr. Beneš, however, knew how to deal with the opposition: he liquidated it ruthlessly. To this end he used his secret archive which he had made up for opportune moments, even doctors' opinions, as in the case of Stříbrný. Democracy became limited during the lifetime of T. G. Masaryk, and more so during the presidency of Dr. Beneš.

Masaryk did not seek the support of political parties; he was above all parties. Beneš, on the other hand, depended on the support of the National Socialists, who, in 1935 tried, though unsuccessfully, to promulgate a law to dissolve all political parties and to establish a new uniform State party with himself at its head. The National Socialists must be regarded as the grave-diggers of Czecho-Slovakia and democracy; their active collaboration with the communists during the war and after is still fresh in our memories.

The parasites of Beneš's political clique refuse to admit their guilt in the catastrophe. They still sing praises to Beneš with the help of whose name they hope to find favor with Czech settlers in Canada and the United States.

Ruthenia illustrates Beneš's political character quite clearly. During a visit to that country in May, 1934, when he was still Foreign Minister, Beneš said: "Czecho-Slovakia, having become the holder (trustee) of Sub-Carpathian Russia by the decision of the Peace Conference, will never give up this land, **it will never allow any revisionism in this question and shall defend this land with you to its last drop of blood**" (Národná Politika: May 6, 1924).

We know just how Beneš defended Ruthenia: he negotiated with Soviet Ambassador Majský in London, in 1941, to sell out that hapless country.

On July 4, 1938, Dr. Beneš prophesied to a deputation of Sokols: "Nothing will happen that might harm our State, our Republic and our democratic regime; in this jubilee year of our Republic, with our sincere effort for just collaboration with all citizens of all nationalities, we shall demonstrate anew to the world that our State is just, solid, ready to resist aggression, mature and peace-loving." The result: Munich!

To complement the shameless character of Beneš in his statement, published in the "Wiedomosci polskie" (June 15, 1941): "And when a man thinks of it, we Czechs nevertheless did foresee actually everything!" When a Polish journalist asked him whether he really meant everything, Beneš replied: "Yes, I mean everything!"

The Munich catastrophe, the capitulation and flight of Dr. Beneš into foreign lands did away for the time being with any remnants of sympathy the Czech nation had for Beneš (the Slovaks and others had none for him). In 1945, the Czech nation welcomed his return, but the enthusiasm displayed was not for him but rather an expression of joy that the war and Nazi occupation had ended.

The Second Republic

Post-Munich Czecho-Slovakia, the second Republic, was of short duration. It was still free, but betrayed by all its foreign friends; it was smaller in area and without great hopes of preservation. It was also without Beneš, who had voluntarily resigned from the presidency and, after his

flight from Czecho-Slovakia, had even wished much success to the new, constitutionally elected, President, Dr. Emil Hácha. With the voluntary joining of the parties of the right in the Party of National Unity and the parties of the left in the Labor Party, an effort was expressed to simplify and cure the ills of political life.

The relations of the first Republic, particularly the person and environment of Dr. Beneš, were the target of wide criticism, especially from the Party of National Unity which, surprisingly enough, even the National Socialists joined. The party renounced Beneš and favored the right. Its chairman, J. V. Klofáč, identifying Czech National Socialism with Hitler's National Socialism, said: "We must not only catch up with Germany and its National Socialism, but surpass it. . . . In Central Europe we must give a model example of coexistence of the Slovanic peoples and Germans, which is all the easier for us, since we are also connected by blood. My Father's mother was a full-blooded German." And referring to Beneš quite obviously, Klofáč proclaimed: "We must repudiate everyone who prattles like a child about the approaching moment that shall return to us everything we lost in October — and which is definitely lost." No Czech political party so completely reversed itself up to that time.

The conflict with the Slovaks and Hitler's intervention liquidated the second Republic; the Czech lands became the "Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia."

The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

The burden of the German occupation was felt not only in public life, but also by every society and family. German pressure was terrific; about 300,000 Czechs proclaimed themselves Germans. Children were taught German and sang German songs. The attempt to unite the parties and groups of the right, which after March 15, 1939, formed the so-called "National Committee," failed and the party of the so-called "National Alliance" was formed. Various rightist and fascist groups existed too, illegally but tolerated, which had little or practically no influence with the Germans. Opportunistic servants and functionaries of

former political parties better served the purposes of the Germans than the nationalistic groups. Even though no one wants to admit it, the fact is that, after the arrival of the German Army in Pilsen, among the first to be arrested and liquidated, along with the students, on November 17, 1939, were also fascists and Vlakjists.

Collaboration with the Germans was rather common; it was rather a question of the personal character of individuals without regard to political belief. Opportunism played a significant role until the defeat of the Germans at Stalingrad. Czech resistance against nazism grew with the approaching end of the war. One of the most notorious collaborators was **Emanuel Moravec**, Minister of Enlightenment, former co-worker of Stránský's "Lidové Noviny" and Beneš's Military propagandist (alias Stanislav Yester). We remember, too, **Arno Haise**, former communist, who held the leading position in the trade organization **NOÚZ**; and **Emanuel Slechta**, designated in the Records of the London Department of the Interior as a collaborator, who nevertheless was given a place in the presidium of the Czech National Socialists and, in 1948, became the chairman of the communized Czech socialists.

Beneš's decrees, prepared by Dr. Jaroslav Stránský in London, often punishing with the tendency of personal vengeance (recall the cases of Stříbrný, R. Beran, and others), created the possibility of settling personal accounts and were more or less a weapon for political blackmail. Beneš often assured the world that the Constitution of 1920 was still valid during the war and after 1945, but he ruled by decrees, flaunting thereby the highest law of the land, which he had sworn to uphold.

The Foreign Activity of Dr. Beneš

As an exile in London, Beneš proclaimed himself president of Czecho-Slovakia, organized a government, proclaimed war against Hitler and all his allies, borrowed from Britain for his activity over fifty million pounds Sterling, and covered with a veil of secrecy the fate of the gold treasure that was in foreign lands. Beneš welcomed the defeat of France, which showed him no sympathy, organized

a foreign army of about 4,000 men in England, and every year prophesied the approaching end of Hitler. Churchill was criticized openly even during the war, but anyone who attempted to criticize Beneš was ruthlessly denounced and liquidated. Beneš's vanity and ambition knew no bounds; critics and opponents were arrested or politically isolated (Gen. Lev Prchala, Deputy Fr. Schwarz, Ambassador Osuský, former Prime Minister M. Hodža, Rudolph Bechyně, leader of the Czech Social Democrats, Malím, president of the State Bank, and others).

Beneš had quite a bit of opposition not only among the exiles, but even among the old settlers in the United States and Canada. In 1940, Czech Catholics still backed Dr. Emil Hácha, the duly elected president of Czecho-Slovakia; Slovak emigration was for the most part for the Slovak State. While the freethinkers and socialists supported Beneš at the outset, the Communists adopted a wait-and-see attitude. In the United States, the most outspoken against Beneš was the Czech Monsignor F. Mikolášek, whose scorching articles appeared in the St. Louis "Hlas," and the "Katolícky Dělník." Many of us expected Dr. Charles Pergler to openly stand against Beneš, since he was evicted from Czecho-Slovakia by Masaryk and Beneš despite his many merits for the Czecho-Slovak Republic and his deputorial mandate. But he remained silent like so many others.

In the London exile, Dr. Beneš committed further treason against the principles of freedom and democracy: he prepared the liquidation of civic parties that were always strongly opposed to him. The National Socialists he had in the palm of his hand; to the Social Democrats and the Populists he sent his agents (B. Laušman, V. Majer, P. Tigrid, I. Ducháček, and others). The only problem that Beneš had, as far as the presidency of Czecho-Slovakia was concerned, were the communists toward whom, however, he had had no internal opposition. In 1939, Beneš wrote in his "Democracy Today and Tomorrow":

"On the other hand, Communism in its philosophy and morality has a certain similarity with democracy. It also stands for equality of all peoples and nations. It is also humanitarian, universalistic, intellectualistic and rationalistic. It is also pacifist, internationalistic

and stands for a policy of United Nations. From this standpoint its moral and philosophical basis is the same as that of democracy."

The main supposition of Beneš's agreement with the Reds was the assurance that with their support he would again become President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic and be able to rule dictatorially by means of "revolutionary" decrees. He turned his back coolly on the anti-communist Polish exiles with whom, when he needed them to gain the support of the English, Beneš concluded pacts of friendship and close political and economical cooperation in the future.

The People's Democracy 1945-1948

The events of 1945-1948 are well known to us. Beneš's decrees contributed to the socialization of Czecho-Slovakia, the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans caused an economical vacuum for many years, and retribitional decrees helped to liquidate the anti-communist opposition.

The height of the immorality of Beneš's regime was the issuance of his decree of October 27, 1945, which amnestied all crimes against humanity during the "punishment of Germans and collaborators" after May 5, 1945. In the history of justice this amnesty represents a singular document whereby a government sanctioned murder, violence, and thievery — something that no dictatorship, not even the Nazi type, allowed itself up to that time.

Beneš, his government, and the non-communist parties indisputably helped to bolshevize Czecho-Slovakia. They tried to surpass the Reds in cruelty during the expulsion of Germans and Magyars and they out-trumped them in chauvinism. On June 25, 1945, the National Socialists formed the so-called socialistic bloc with the Social Democrats and Communists and then tried to create a common socialistic party — similar to the SED in East Germany — which, however, the Communists would not buy.

In 1945 there was no freedom of the press, the government controlling everything. There were a few exceptional journalists who, from time to time, tried to criticize some of the existing conditions, but to no avail. The Košice Program, approved by all the political parties permitted to ex-

ist by Prague and united in the so-called National Front, clearly stated the limits of post-war freedom for everyone and was the program for the progressive bolshevization of Czecho-Slovakia.

The first postwar elections, in May, 1946, brought victory for the Communists who received 38.1 per cent (in Slovakia only 30.4 per cent) of the votes cast. During the election campaign the solidarity of the National Front was not violated in the new government of Klement Gottwald. All political leaders vowed to remain loyal to the Soviet Union and unanimously approved the two-year economic plan which was on the order of the Soviet five-year-plan. Dr. Hubert Ripka, the National Socialist Minister, zealously propagated the Czecho-Slovak-Soviet Treaty of collaboration (Dec. 13, 1943) and tied the economy of the country to that of the Soviet Union.

When Stalin forced Prague not to participate in the Marshall Plan, in 1947, the non-Communist Ministers had more cause to resign then than they had in February 1948. At that time, however, the Ministers still speculated that they would be able to continue to share power with the Reds. They were not concerned about the principle of freedom, democracy, or western orientation; they simply wanted to remain in power.

The resignation of twelve non-communist Ministers (out of a total of 26), headed by Dr. Peter Zenkl, on February 20, 1948, helped only the Communists to gain all positions which they did not occupy up to that time. The Reds were completely prepared for the events of February 1948, whereas the non-communist parties were not. In fact they played into the hands of the Reds. In the fall of 1947, several anti-Communist deputies had been liquidated by the National Front coalition of Beneš-Gottwald. The Reds had no trouble in finding quislings and informers to oust the resigned ministers and their adherents from the parties and replacing them with "reliable" people. Dr. Zenkl and company — after President Beneš did what Gottwald asked him to do — then realized that they were through governing. Some were arrested but many of them departed to the West, the Reds doing practically nothing

to stop them. The blackguards had done their work, they were free to go.

The Present Communist Czecho-Slovakia

After February, 1948, political persecution had free reign, the decisions of the People's Courts from the years 1945-1948 were revised and new processes initiated. Tens of thousands citizens left the Republic. The Communist Party took over all positions; the Social Democrats united with the Communists on June 27, 1948; the National Socialists, changing their name to "Czech Socialists," recognized the leading role of the Communists and today are criticizing themselves for their "bourgeois past"; Šrámek's Populists became the party of Catholic Socialism with the task of completing the collectivization of agriculture. The Communist Party and its secret police ruthlessly liquidated all non-communist influence and practically all possibility of resistance, including that of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which could perhaps hinder their progress toward socialism and communism. Small industrial enterprises, up to 1948 not affected by Beneš's decrees, were nationalized, as were gradually even the smaller businesses and trades. At the same time the industrialization of the Czech lands and Slovakia was increased, costing billions of crowns which lowered the living standard of the inhabitants to a minimum.

The Communist party purged itself of "undesirable" elements, deviationists and nationalists, thus ridding itself of pre-war malcontents. In the end Rudolph Slánsky, Secretary-General of the Czecho-Slovak Communist Party, and ten other leading Reds were executed November 27, 1952. They were charged with "anti-State activities, espionage, Zionism, and economic sabotage." Gottwald's group within the party was victorious over the Slánsky faction, but Gottwald did not enjoy his victory very long. He died nine days after Stalin in 1953 (March 14). After a three year purge the situation within the Communist Party became stabilized in 1953.

The money reform of June 1, 1953, with which some dissatisfaction was displayed in various places, was sup-

posed to raise the living standard of the people and improve the economical situation. The buying power of the Czecho-Slovak crown was restored and the quality of products became better. Prices of commodities and wages of workers were adjusted, swelling the ranks of the people who had little. From 1956 the Red regime has been using more refined methods of psychological persuasion with the peasants, so that by October 1, 1959, only 19 per cent of the land remained in private hands. All sectors of political and economical life have been patterned after the Soviet model. Industrial production, according to official statistics, was four times higher in 1959 than in 1938, and by 1965 it is supposed to be sixteen times higher. In Slovakia, industrial production increased seven times over that in 1937. The standard of living, however, has not been keeping up with increased production. Prices on many necessities are still rather high.

A large majority of the population is not communist, nor is it happy with the communist regime. Annually, however, people who knew better times are dying; their places are being taken over by the younger generation which knows little else than "people's democracy." The successes of the Red regimes with sputniks and luniks has influenced the thinking of many; as has also the policy of appeasement and containment of the West. Active resistance against the Reds is practically nil. To hold onto what people have and perhaps for more material advantage, many people are cooperating with the Reds.

In 1960 we saw new changes and reorganization. Some 200,000 employees in the administration of the State were made available for industry and agriculture with the dissolution of the provincial system which was replaced by ten larger economic regions. Great changes took place also in the organization of work; gradually two shifts are being instituted in all the larger enterprises. A new Constitution has been adopted to replace the Constitution of 1920.

If we criticize the "golden times" of the First Republic and do not mention the many positive deeds of that period, it is because the First Republic did not fulfill the promises of the Castle propaganda. Worse, however, is

the fact that the representatives of the First Republic could not strengthen the morale of the people which was shaken by the long hegemony of the Habsburgs, and Beneš's capitulation broke many a backbone. Neither was morale helped by the Protectorate; and it attained a new low after 1945 when the very people who were expected to possess so much morality willingly collaborated with the enemies of all morality.

The Czech nation will live even after communism. Its tragedy was caused in 1918 by politicians who cared not about national interests, a better future, solidarity and moral strength, but in the first place sought to satisfy their own ambitions (Beneš) and their own glorification (Masaryk), etc. Of course, indirectly our entire nation is responsible for the development that took place from 1918 to 1948. It allowed itself to be deceived by false slogans, legends, hypocritical propaganda, and failed to heed the warnings of really devoted politicians (Kramář, Dyk, Machar, etc.). Masaryk's slogan "evolution is going to the left" and Beneš's collaboration with the Reds greatly facilitated the government of the Communists.

Some of those responsible for our national tragedy are still among us in exile; they have the brazen impertinence to organize circles of Czech interests (The Council of Free Czecho-Slovakia, the Czech National Socialist Party in exile, etc.) with feelers in American societies for exiles, such as Radio Free Europe (RFE), Assembly of Captive European Nations (ACEN), and American Czech societies. To the wide masses of our countrymen in exile they cannot serve as an exemplary model, and, therefore, we notice in our exile increasing influences of materialism, national callousness, egocentrism, chicanery and intrigue, hypocrisy and fraud. Of course, not in our entire exile, but in a good part of it. And it is the question of our morality that will decide whether our exile will be able to live through the next several years which will be according to all indications, very tough and ruthless years.

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SLOVAKIA AND CENTRAL EUROPE

CHARLES MURIN, LL.D., Ph.D.

"Slovakia Nation at the Crossroads of Central Europe" by Joseph M. Kirschbaum, LL.D., Ph.D., professor at the University of Montreal, Department of Slavic Studies. Preface by U. S. Congressman Alvin M. Bentley, Member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Pp. xix + 371; 72 documents, 2 maps, 22 photographs, bibliography, index. Publisher Robert Speller and Sons, Inc., New York. \$5.00.

Can a book concerning a small nation of four million behind the Iron Curtain draw the attention of the American and Canadian public at a time when Khrushchev is exploding nuclear bombs, Castro is defying the powerful U. S., and the struggle between West and East in Asia, Africa, and Europe is intensifying? The American reader might sigh and say: let bygones be bygones, there are more pressing problems today than the fate of four million Slovaks in the immediate neighborhood of the Soviet Union. Actually this might be the reaction of the man in the street who restricts his interests to what is presented to his sight, to the sensational.

Professor Kirschbaum's book is by no means sensational in this sense, since it is written for both the intelligent observer of the international politics and those whose task it is to participate in the shaping of the current international situation which seems to contain an amount of irrational elements to a degree probably never equaled in the period of modern history.

Kirschbaum's book is a valuable contribution to the understanding of the premises and origins of the present-day situation, restricted to one of its sections: Central Europe. Genetically this seems to be the most important field though the quantitative aspects of the problems in Asia and Africa overshadow the European problems. The author relates the political history of Slovakia and of Central Europe. The period described, however, happens to be the one which preceded the Soviet hegemony over half of Europe. Thus the book contains excellent material offered to the English reader who wants to trace down the errors of the past and is willing both to learn from past errors and re-

think the categories of living ideas and forces which simultaneously are being shaped by and are shaping this world of ours.

The basic service this book renders to the reader is that it shows him to what degree the conceptions of the West in regard to the political organization of one of the neuralgic spots in Europe were dominated by facts and to what degree by fancy. To show the interplay of reality and illusion, the genuine and the phony in the official views of the state departments of the West in regard to Central Europe seems to us to be the aim of the book. Further the author shows to what extent these conceptions contained inherent contradictions and were therefore doomed in the long run. Be it noted that some of the prejudices discussed in the book represent an inheritance from the post-World-War I arrangements.

The book under discussion is divided in four parts: the first is concerned with the past; the second with the present-past; the third with the present-future; and the fourth contains documents, maps, bibliography, and index.

Part I introduces the reader to the topic of the book by giving the historical background of the problem. The service rendered by the author in this part of the book is the presentation of the Czech and Magyar historians, who usually treat Slovak history as a peripheral phenomenon of the Czech or Magyar past respectively. The characteristics one can as a rule find in the works of Magyar and Czech writers are the following:

(a) Functional approach: the Slovaks are simply denied ethnical, linguistic, cultural, social and political individuality and thus are made part of either the Czech or the Magyar nation; the intelligibility of the Slovak history, if they agree at least to take notice of the fact, comes from without, i.e., from Czech history for a Czech writer, and from Magyar history if the writer is a Magyar. The meaning of Slovak history is seen, still according to these views, in an orientation of Slovaks towards loosing their weak traces of identity and ultimately in melting together with the one or the other nation.

(b) For the principle of interpretation of the history of Slovakia (some writers use this term exclusively in a geographical sense) they use concepts upon which the national aspirations and dreams of their own people are based. It is not unusual for them to project a modern concept of the nineteenth and twentieth century to the ninth and tenth century of Slovak history.

An interesting observation follows from the use of this method. If a certain conception of man, society and reality is embraced as unconditionally and metaphysically true, this conception and the laws which constitute its explication can be used as the principle of interpretation of each and every man, society, event and situation. This is exactly what Marxists do. Therefore it was no surprise for those acquainted with Marxist philosophy that a book was recently published in Slovakia in which the Great Moravian Empire of the King Svätopluk of the tenth century is interpreted in terms of a class struggle. A similar method is used by some Czech and Magyar historical writers in their interpretation of Slovak history, however, with the difference that the supposedly universally valid laws of the dialectical and historical materialism are replaced by the concepts of the meaning of history (i.e., either Czech or Magyar history), of national destiny, of mission, of glory, of interests, etc. True, the validity of these concepts is not universal; it is restricted to the one or the other nation. But in relation to the Slovak history, they are purposefully given a universal character, because outside of these concepts the history of Slovakia becomes, in the view of these writers, unintelligible, an irrational collection of unrelated facts which might find their interpretation on the level of Nature but never on the level of Spirit. Many conclusions of the historians in question cannot be understood without knowing these tacit or openly avowed premises.

Although Professor Kirschbaum raises no claim to be a professional historian, nevertheless, as the author of many historical essays and several biographies and monographies, he has mastered more than sufficiently the material he is dealing with and is in a solid position to give an accurate

account on Slovak history, an account based on a sober relativistic character of historical events, thus avoiding the peculiar exclusivities not only of the Czech and Magyar writers, but also of their Slovak antipodes.

In Part I, the author shows that the Slovaks belong to the group of the most ancient peoples in Central Europe, they were the first of the Slovanic peoples to adhere to Christianity, always belonged to the orbit of the Western world, never were willing to lose and never lost their individuality and ethnical identity. The meaning of all Slovak history can be found only within and never outside the events that make up the drama of the Slovak nation.

Part II seems to us to be the central piece of the book. This is the author's proper domain containing the events of founding the first Czecho-Slovak Republic, the causes of its disintegration, the period of the Slovak Republic, and, finally, the restoration of the Czecho-Slovak Republic following World War II. By far the greatest attention is given to the period of the Slovak Republic. This is understandable since it is mainly in this period that the author was active in the political life of Slovakia until ousted from the political scene under pressure of Hitlerite Germans and the small number of Slovak-Nazi sympathizers. Both his 7-year-long stay in neutral Switzerland (for three years as diplomatic representative of the Slovak Republic) and a period of 15-20 years, from the events he describes, permit Professor Kirschbaum to reach a degree of objectivity seldom achieved in books in which the authors touch upon the problems they contributed intrinsically both to shape and to solve. When a number of the pages is of an apologetic character, not a personal defense of the author is involved but a rejection of the distortions of historical facts and a reproach of not seeing events in their true light.

It is extremely difficult to summarize this part of the book without going into some details and without transgressing the material limits of this reflection. Therefore, we shall restrain ourselves to the essential points which might be of interest to intelligent observers of international politics.

Part II begins with a demything of the legends propagated about the foundation of the Czecho-Slovak Republic at the end of World War I. The principle which gave birth to the first Republic was self-determination. President Wilson consented to dismemberment of the ethnical mosaic of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the name of the principle of self-determination, and it was in the name of the same principle that another ethnical mosaic was created, i.e., the Czecho-Slovak Republic. No one of the six ethnical groups included in the new state constituted a simple majority of the population. Therefore, the only admissible structure of the state, even if one does not use anything more than common horse sense, was a federation. The leading statesmen of the Paris Peace Conference somehow sensed this, but did not know the facts clearly enough, and the whole problem became in their eyes one of minor importance.

In order that at least one of the ethnical nations might constitute a simple majority in the state, a fusion of the two nations into one was needed. This tour de force on the diplomatic level was achieved by the presentation of the one ethnic "**Czechoslovak**" nation by Masaryk and Beneš. Concerning this illusion of a "Czechoslovak" nation, one can find two contradictory legends.

According to the one, the Slovaks joined the first republic willingly, over-eagerly, renouncing their own ethnical identity, and adherence to the new state equaled to merging with the Czech ethnical nation (this is the Czech version).

In terms of the second version, the Slovaks were forced, duped or tricked into joining the Czech state (the Magyar version).

Now, the truth is that the Slovaks were willing co-founders of the Czecho-Slovak Republic and much, possibly too much hope had been placed in the new state. At the same time, however, they were cautious and did not enter the partnership with the Czechs without a written guaranty of their rights which were supposed to secure free and democratic development of their national life (see document No. 2, p. 235-236). The refusal to implement the au-

tonomy of Slovakia, promised by the Agreement of Pittsburgh of May 30, 1918, and signed by T. G. Masaryk, dominated the relations between the Slovaks and Czechs for 20 years of the first Republic.

Although this unsolved problem of the Republic reflected unfavorably on the military value and strength of the state integrated in a system of alliances headed by France, neither the latter nor any other western government displayed any wisdom to exerting a friendly influence in favor of a solution of this basic problem until it was far too late. When the Sudeten-German problem was used by Hitler as an excuse of attacking Czecho-Slovakia, the lack of internal coherence of the Republic brought an end to the illusion of strength both abroad and within the Republic itself.

The Second Czecho-Slovak (post-Munich) Republic, territorially mutilated, vanished from the Central European scene after a brief period of six months. The State was doomed by the very treaties by which it was founded and the Constitution of the Republic of 1920. They were based on too much fantasy and too little facts, too many political illusions and not enough sociological reality.

Most of the attention is given by the author to the period of the Slovak Republic, 1939-1945, apparently this being the crux of the problem exposed by Professor Kirschbaum. His thesis, supported by many documents, can be shortly yet fairly resumed as follows: Slovakia, since the dawn of its history, went Westward. The central ideal of modern Slovak political history was and remains the idea of freedom as developed in the West. The right of self-determination of nations is but an inseparable aspect of the Western concept of freedom. However, when it comes to the concrete application of the concept of freedom, more than one of the great Western Powers simply ignore or even deny this right to the nations which are unable to support their claim to a free and independent life by physical force.

The reasons for this virtual condemnation of some nations to third or fourth grade national existence are

usually several: economic interests of powerful friends or weak friends who are to be made powerful; lack of information or much bad information, etc.

The claims of Slovaks to a free life hit upon deaf ears. More than that. When the Slovaks made the best of a bad situation which they did not create, objections were raised and they were told: if you keep your freedom (a difficult freedom in an extremely tense situation, it is true), we shall have to use force to put you back where you were in 1938, or even in 1920; but if you renounce your will to a free life, behave as a good child, we shall spare you.

Freedom is something you fight for — and this the Slovaks did. But freedom is also what you legitimately expect to be respected for in a community whose distinctive mark is respect for freedom — and this the Slovaks did not receive. There is no doubt that the West takes freedom seriously, as a mission to mankind, yet when it comes to putting into reality the ideal of freedom, the West remains somehow hesitantly in the abstract and condones situations which make the Western concept of freedom look vague and restricted in its application to some nations only, or even to only a segment of the nations. As a result, the cornerstone of Western society, the gospel of freedom and dignity of man assumes a verbal character that can be ultimately argued away by skillful dialectics even of the materialistic brand.

This is the reason why the nations on the verge of making their choice between West and East do not easily recognize the difference between the concrete articulation of the freedom of the West and the steps taken to a systematic enslavement of man and nations by the Communist Marxists.

The Slovaks do not have to make their decision, this they have done over eleven hundred years ago. No matter what treatment they receive from the Western Powers, they will remain West-bound because they cannot deny their own identity.

At this point, the somehow apologetic character of the book turns out to be both a silent and delicate rebuke

to the Western Powers and an eloquent warning to present and future policy-makers of the West no matter which area of the world they are dealing with. An air of tragedy surrounds both the reproach and the warning as the nations enslaved by the Soviets might foreshadow the future destiny of those who still use or abuse their freedom. In this light the mistakes committed during the period of the Slovak Republic (some of them bearing the fatality of a natural force) become more understandable.

The author does not confine himself to pointing out the errors to be avoided. He proposes a formula for the future arrangement of the Central European area which offers the best chance to secure a sound development of the crossroads between Eastern and Western Europe. Part III of the book, under the section entitled "For a New Democracy in Central Europe," contains the author's views concerning the future, shared, we believe, by many.

The geopolitical location of the nations in question between Germany and Russia, demands a federalist solution, no matter what the political ideologies of the two great neighboring powers happen to be. Only by uniting their forces can the Central European nations secure their freedom. This is beyond the point of discussion and, furthermore, being the only logical solution, it receives a confirmation by recent and remote history.

The question of internal structure of the Central European Federation is a much more delicate and less evident one than its necessity in the field of inter-play of powers. The principle on which the author suggests to reconstruct the Central European area can be called, we think, without being unfair to the author who does not use this term, the principle of regional balance of power. This represents a realistic implementation of the moral claim for freedom, the other point beyond discussion. The principle of regional balance of power takes into consideration the political and economical development in the direction to greater units, with the ultimate result of a world (federated) government to be established in the future.

At the same time the principle takes into account, human nature being what it is, that the organization of

greater units (e.g., Western Europe, Central Europe, etc.) must be such that they could safeguard the freedom of concerned nations more on the lowest level of the administration than on the level of the Central government, be the latter of regional, continental, or of world-wide character. The strength and efficiency of the Federal Central Government rests ultimately upon the concrete human persons at the bottom (lack of this was the greatest weakness of the Czecho-Slovak Republic) who are at the same time the foundation and the aim of any government. There always will arise problems among the nations, as there always will be problems among individuals. The point is that the structure of institutions and organizations must be such that it permits to give an adequate and just answer both to the existing problems and to those which may arise. In this regard again the Czecho-Slovak Republic did not meet these requirements, and the political status of 1918, 1938, or of 1945 stands for the Western concept of the Central European area, in that case, this is a desperately backward concept which lags well behind the development. The visible signs of a change in this concept are represented by some very vague promises and semi-official declarations, but on the whole it is rather hard to guess to what extent there really is a change. What Professor Kirschbaum proposes is this: there is and probably there will remain in the foreseeable future a certain antagonism (call it: problem) among the Central European nations, the outcome of a centuries-long historical development of this area which will not be eliminated over night (even if the night is as dark as the night under Communism). In defense of their national ideal some writers and orators resort at times to real living forces shaped by history, but sometimes to political fossils whose symbolic force and imaginative attraction is a matter of the past because they are without any meaning for the man of the second half of the twentieth century.

Let us speak a more concrete language. The Masaryk and Beneš governments molded their national aspirations to the image of the former Bohemian kings who in a certain period of time happened to be Roman-Germanic em-

perors who ruled the Central European area. The Hungarian government, on the other hand, claimed the title of makers and organizers of Central Europe in the restricted sense of the word, because there was a period in which the nations of "Hungaria" actively participated together with the Magyars in constructive work for the common good. The two nations, i.e., the Czechs and the Magyars, possessing roughly an equal potential force, set themselves on a search for a surplus of power which would give them an edge over the power of the respective partner-opponent. Both agreed that Slovakia could represent this hoped for surplus, and, to no one's surprise, political writers "uncovered historical facts which favored either the one or the other conception of Slovak history, with the result of what we called above the functional approach to the past of Slovakia. As a matter of fact, the theory of the surplus value of Slovakia for the Czechs and for the Magyars seemed to have received a confirmation by the political events of the twentieth century.

Prior to World War I, when Slovakia was a part of Hungary, the Magyars held a wide edge over the Czechs. When, however, Slovakia joined forces with the Czechs, the latter emerged as the stronger power in the valley of the Danube. The only trouble with these two solutions was that besides being radically unjust, they led to a catastrophe of all the involved nations. There are other theoretical possibilities, i.e., Slovakia as a part of Poland, or as part of the Ukraine or Russia, yet we think that they would not yield better results since they seem to us to be even of a more violent nature than those just mentioned.

It follows that the only realistic way to secure a regional balance of power and to safeguard the freedom of all nations in this area is to recognize Slovakia as one of the national units in the Central European Federation. The more so that only this solution renders justice to the ideal of freedom of nations. Fortunately, the Central European nations are beginning to realize the imperative character of this solution, and there is more than one confirmation of the development in the political thinking of nations under the Communist yoke towards this solution.

What is lagging in the most unfortunate way behind this evolution is, e.g., Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America (Canadian and British, Rome and Madrid broadcasts have their Slovak sections) and, it would seem, since these are related to some officials of the U. S. State Department in an unofficial way, that these officials of the State Department are behind recent developments. The fact that the "statesmen," who substantially contributed to the present predicament of Central Europe, find not only willing ears to listen and, but also active support from some official circles of the U. S. is in support of our opinion.

Part IV of the book contains a valuable collection of documents, many of them available for the first time to the English reader. This ensemble of documents control the author's affirmation and let the reader see the other side of the medal which, up to now, has been presented to the Western public in a purely functional way.

The weakest part of the book is the bibliography. It is extremely summary — some 150 books referred to in the book not being listed. We learned that this regrettable shortcoming in Professor Kirschbaum's book was due to an error with the printers and that it will be corrected in the second edition of the book.

RADIO FREE EUROPE continues its policy of ignoring the rightful demands of the Slovak people and ignoring Americans of Slovak descent and their organizations. Its "Czechoslovak" desk is still dominated by former Czech National Fronters, Czech socialists of all shades who collaborated with the Czech Reds and Moscow during the Beneš-Gottwald coalition (1945-1948). According to them freedom is for everybody except the Slovaks; Czecho-Slovakia and the Czechs must be liberated, but not the Slovaks. The latter are supposed to be doomed to Czech domination eternally! What a mockery of the fundamental principles of democracy!

IN THE WORKERS' PARADISE, according to Radio Bratislava: Slovakia is behind in its milk quota 6,600,000 liters (4-18-61); thus far the Trebišov district owes the State 1,085,000 liters of milk this year (3-10-61); Dolný Kubín, Čadca, Prievidza, and Žilina did not produce even a deciliter per cow (3-9-61); in Bratislava (Street of the Defenders of Peace) women waited for meat from 2:00 to 6:30 P. M. (3-20-61); there is a great abundance of feed for cattle and calves, but it's all rotten; the people work the farms, but steal over half the production (3-20-61); we have no tires, but why? I heard the explanation that the reason for this is the war in Laos (2-11-61.)

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL

(Address of P. A. Hrobak in Cologne, Germany, on the occasion of Sudeten German Day, May 20, 1961. The Charles IV Award was given Mr. Hrobak in 1961 by the Sudeten German Council of West Germany.)

I feel highly honored, privileged and extremely happy to be with you here today for this "Sudeten German Day" to voice together with you our rededication to the fundamental principles which are the foundation of every genuine democracy, the principles of justice and liberty. At the very outset, from the bottom of my heart, I thank the Sudeten German Council for the honor of bestowing on me the Award of Charles IV, particularly Herr Minister Hans-Christoph Seeböhm and Herr Dr. Walter Becher.

In the name of the Slovak League of America, the outstanding and most representative civic and cultural organization of American of Slovak descent, I greet you sincerely and pray that God hastens the day of your return to your ancestral homeland where you shall be able to fully enjoy the exercise of your God-given rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We commend you wholeheartedly for your patience and, particularly, for the great courage displayed throughout the years under most trying circumstances to uphold the right of all peoples to self-determination, the right of nations to freely govern themselves as they best see fit.

The Slovaks of America are grateful to the West German Government and to the German people for offering asylum to Slovaks who fled the terror and violence which enveloped their homeland in 1945. By the practical application of the Golden Rule (Do unto others as you would have them do unto you), you have earned the admiration and respect of the entire free world.

The history of the Sudetenland is very much like the history of Slovakia. The people of both territories were faced with a "fait accompli" in 1918, with their demand to exercise the right of self-determination completely ignored. This happened after a war which was fought for the rights of nationality and of national self-determina-

tion and "a territorial settlement...based on the right of self-determination or the consent of the governed" was one of three fundamental conditions of a permanent peace. With the creation of Czecho-Slovakia under the leadership of T. G. Masaryk and Edward Beneš both the Sudeten Germans and the Slovaks were exploited and treated like second-class citizens. The Sudeten Germans, like the Slovaks, wanted nothing that belonged to the Czech people; they did not seek Czech territory, nor the spiritual or material wealth of the Czechs. And they did not want special treatment, but only that they, too, be able to exercise the prerogative of self-determination.

Because this right of self-determination was denied the Sudetenland Germans and the Slovaks, and others, a grave injustice was done them. The violation of the principle of self-determination at that time led to the crisis of democracy in Central Europe and eventually to the horrible holocaust of World War Two.

There was and still is nothing wrong with the great democratic principle of self-determination. Objective observers, I am sure, will agree that the disintegration of large political and economic units following the First World War and the creation of incoherent smaller units at a time when strategic and economic factors demanded more integration was the result of applying the principle of self-determination arbitrarily. At that time, the notion to build national states in East Central Europe, where many nationalities or ethnic groups had lived intermingled for many centuries had gained the favor of the peacemakers. Unfortunately, experienced and able statesmen and political experts allowed themselves to be persuaded by politically inexperienced, shortsighted and morally unbalanced men, particularly by T. G. Masaryk and Edward Beneš, to accept the idea of creating political units which had no basis in the history of the peoples concerned.

Tearing asunder large multi-national political units to establish smaller multi-national units under the guise of the great democratic principle of self-determination could only result in political monstrosities. And that, in my con-

sidered opinion, is exactly what, for example, Czecho-Slovakia was — and still is. This violation of the Wilsonian principle presaged only more trouble not only for Central Europe but also for the whole world. The attempt to build a national state in traditionally and historically multi-national areas failed — and failed miserably.

It is a matter of historical record that the violation of the great democratic principle of self-determination led first to discontent and prevented wholesome and peaceful cooperation. As the years rolled by it engendered and fomented hatred of those who ruled high and mighty, utterly disregarding the Creator-endowed rights of the other nations within the state, particularly, in the case of Czecho-Slovakia, the rights of millions of Sudeten Germans and Slovaks.

The arbitrary and unjust reorganization of East Central Europe between the wars, characterized as it was by chauvinism, contributed largely to the outbreak of the most horrible slaughter in the history of mankind, and, by a strange and distorted logic, resulted in vengeance and retribution not against those who violated the principle of self-determination, but against the victims of chauvinism and oppression in the interwar period.

Certainly it must be crystal clear today that the policy of vengeance and unbridled retribution, depriving millions of Central Europeans of their homes without any compensation and expelling them on the grounds of "collective guilt" can never be justified in the minds of men who are truly interested in justice and the right.

The charge of collective guilt, so hastily accepted by some governments against the defeated nations and their nationals in other countries, was and still is, in my humble opinion, as absurd as the label of collective innocence to which the victors laid claim. History shall never be able to reconcile and justify the brutal mass expulsions of the Sudeten Germans and others which took place after 1945.

It is not my intention to resort to recriminations. I believe that peoples of the free democratic world should be more concerned with remedying the injustices of the past

— and then pushing on in earnest with the task of establishing a just and lasting peace. First of all, it seems to me, restitution must be made by allowing all expellees to return to their homelands and returning to them all their possessions. Then the East Central European peoples should return to the great democratic principle of the right of self-determination and use it as a basis of a new and more just organization of the area, applying the principle to all nations without exception, with due consideration for the pressing demands of the time.

I am greatly inclined to believe the claim or proposition that there is only one answer to the problem of the reorganization of East Central Europe: a federation of free peoples or free states — a United States of East Central Europe or a United States encompassing the whole of Europe proper — guaranteeing the several states composing it full states' rights so that they might freely cultivate and develop their own national traditions, their languages and cultures, not only in their own interest, but also in the highest interest of the welfare and security of the federation. With the passage of time, I am sure, a situation similar to that in the United States of America would develop, where citizens of all ethnic origins and religious persuasions are not only free, but even encouraged, to preserve and enhance the national traditions and customs of their ancestors.

History has taught us this one great lesson: no nation can have, or presume to have, a monopoly on freedom; and certainly no nation or state has the right to enslave other nations or states. Freedom is the greatest of God's gifts and blessings to mankind; it is the universal heritage of all the ages. The more we develop and share it, the more abundant are its fruits, and the more secure is our own freedom.

History has also taught us that evil, unprincipled men cannot make good citizens and so much the less good public servants and honest advocates of lasting peace. It is impossible that a nation of infidels and idolaters should be a nation of freemen. It is when people forget God — the ultimate Truth and Prince of Peace — that tyrants forge their

chains. A vitiated state of morals, a corrupted public conscience, is incompatible with freedom.

In America "we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." But we do not hold that life is so dear and peace so sweet that it must be purchased at the price of chains and slavery!

The people of the democratic republic of the United States of America believe that all men should be free; that all nations without exception have an inherent, God-given right to establish their own political units in their ancestral homelands and to determine their form of government. If at times in the past the impression was given that this is not so, that is the fault not of the American people, but the fault of those in authority who as their representatives yielded to the force of expediency, forgetting that expedients are but of the hour — principles for the ages.

The time has come, I believe, that we must do more than just pay lip service to the noble principles which are the foundation of genuine democracy and liberty. The time has come for all men to seek the things that unite them and not divide them; the time has come for all free nations to demand a stop to the shadow-boxing in the United Nations and more real action in support of the noble aims of its charter; the time has come to deal justly with all, not just some, crimes against humanity no matter by whom they were perpetrated: the time is here to supplement words for peace with concrete actions for a genuine and lasting peace.

But how can we possibly expect a just peace and a lasting settlement, as long as the great democratic principle of self-determination is denied the Sudeten Germans and the Slovaks and other nations, and as long as the right of expellees and forcibly departed ethnic groups to freely return to their ancestral homelands is not recognized and respected? Indeed, as long as some earthly power is seriously dedicated to the enslavement of mankind?

We in the Slovak League of America still regard the brutal expulsion of the Germans from their centuries-old

homeland as immoral and criminal. The expulsion of any people from their rightful homeland cannot be justified by or reconciled with the expressed political beliefs of any civilized, genuinely democratic country. And certainly not with the political beliefs of the United States of America.

In the land of my parents — the land inhabited by the Slovak people since time immemorial — the Slovaks have lived with the Germans in peace and friendship for many long years. Here is a shining example of the cohabitation of a nation with a minority. Indeed, a cohabitation much like that of many ethnic groups of America. There is nothing better I could wish for the whole of Europe, for the entire world.

God bless you and all of Germany! God bless America and the rest of the free world! And may God hasten the day of liberation of my hapless Slovak people!

LONG-RANGE missile ramps are being constructed by the Red Czechs of Prague in Slovakia. They are located near the town of Spišská Nová Ves and are the first Communist intercontinental missile sites located outside the borders of the Soviet Union. Medium-range sites have been operational in Czecho-Slovakia at bases near Užhorod, Košice, Ružomberok, Frydek (all in Slovakia) and Moravská Ostrava since July 1959. The Czech Reds together with the Kremlin preferred to select Slovakia for most of these sites, since they know that they will be the primary targets in the event of a nuclear war. The Slovaks are expendable, according to the Czech Red bosses.

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ONE OF THE MOST urgent assignments of the new Five-Year Plan (1961-1965) of the Czech Communist Party's Central Committee is the completion of the huge Ironworks in Košice, Slovakia. Blueprints for this "second steel

heart" — as it is termed by Prague Reds, were drawn up in the USSR. It will be the largest foundry in all Europe and one of the ten largest works of its kind in the world. It will cost an estimated 10.5 billions Crowns. Soviet experts are in charge of construction and operation.

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IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA pensioners were recalled to work in October and women were recruited to make up for manpower lost in the emergency build-up of the armed forces, according to official Prague sources. Forty per cent of the adult women in Czecho-Slovakia already held jobs in the paradise of the Red Czechs.

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"CRUCIFIXES must go" — according to the Czech Reds under Antonín Novotný. Nothing has changed much since the birth of Czecho-Slovakia. Novotný is continuing the policy of Masaryk and Beneš: in 1918, crucifixes were hauled in wagons to manure piles!

PRESIDENT TISO AND AMERICA

BY KONŠTO ČULEN

During the war, the propaganda of Dr. Edward Beneš, headquarters London, prevailed. The little man, who always had a plan, had surrendered Czecho-Slovakia and its peoples to Hitler at Munich, in 1938, without even consulting parliament. Beneš then resigned and fled the country. He fled the country not only to escape capture by the Nazis, but also to escape the wrath of his own people, the Czechs, who felt that he had betrayed them. Of course, after he settled in London and had time to think about his cowardly flight from responsibility, he left no stone unturned to justify his actions. Secretly he swore vengeance on the Slovaks and the Sudeten Germans — and even the Czechs who dared to tell the truth about what had happened in Czecho-Slovakia while Beneš was top man. And that was Dr. Beneš's postwar policy.

For official circles in London and Washington, only Beneš was the accepted authority. Beneš could do no wrong. His word was the gospel truth. That is, until he told London and Washington off, too, as Stalin's stooge — the pay-off for his being "appointed" president of Czecho-Slovakia by Moscow.

Beneš's London propaganda apparatus attacked the Slovaks and their leaders viciously and maliciously: the Slovaks declared war on the United States; President Tiso sold out to Hitler; the Slovaks mistreated and murdered American flyers; the Slovaks had surrendered Americans to the Nazis, etc. Lies that made Goebbels look like an amateur!

The fact is that President Tiso and the Slovaks were well aware of their hapless situation — a situation they had not created or asked for. Bombs fell on Slovakia, not on the Czech Škoda Works that worked for Hitler, but the Slovaks understood, because they figured it was not America bombing them, but Dr. Beneš whose military advice prevailed with Washington. Of course, the Slovaks were

hurt, but they suffered without blasting off against America.

When Tiso learned that American flyers of Slovak origin were captured by the Germans, he requested that they be transferred to Slovakia. The president wanted to set up a detention camp for them in Central Slovakia where they might spend the rest of the war. "If we could only get them here," Tiso told me on one occasion, we could be sure they would be safe and we could show them all of our Slovakia."

When several Americans were taken in Slovakia (after their mission for Beneš had failed), they were treated royally by the Slovaks. They were housed in one of the summer resorts in the Tatras and were practically on their own, with all their needs taken care of. When I visited them, one of them told me outright: "This really is something. I could never have imagined that being captured could be so pleasant. Everybody treats us so kindly and we have just about everything we want."

The American prisoners were free to move about, to go to town, have their teeth repaired, to bathe in the spa, etc. And they played tennis with Slovak officers. The only complaint I had heard from them was that they were getting too much meat and not enough vegetables! One of them was of Slovak origin. "How fortunate," he said, "that I had learned at least some Slovak from my mother and now can act as interpreter for my buddies!"

Tiso was very much concerned about their fate and about their comfort. I was present when he ordered our people to give the best possible care to "our American friends" — the sons of our brethren in America. Things went along fine, until one day the Germans demanded the surrender of the American flyers in Slovakia. I happened to be with Tiso when the order was received.

"This is a terrible situation. We shall have to fight for them," he said. "I have already told Mračna of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to do what he can to forestall the execution of the order."

It was plainly evident that President Tiso was really worried. I suggested that Mračna use the argument that

surrendering our American friends could be used propaganda-wise against the independence of Slovakia; our adversaries could say: what kind of an independence does Slovakia enjoy if she has to surrender her own prisoners?

Tiso listened nervously and then said: "Go to Mračna at once and talk the matter over with him. We must find a way of keeping the Americans here."

It so happened that the Americans were not surrendered to the Germans. We prepared a note, telling just how much harm would come to the Slovak Republic from such a surrender, especially since one of the prisoners was of Slovak origin. If we are forced to surrender the Americans, our American Slovaks would then certainly be led to believe that we ourselves do not control the internal affairs of our country. Furthermore, that it is President Tiso's personal wish that the Americans remain in Slovakia. The result surprised even us: The Germans no longer presented demands to surrender our Americans to them. They spent the rest of the war in comparative comfort.

President Tiso was a real friend of America during the most trying times, when the war was on, when the allies were bombing Slovakia according to the strategy planned by Dr. Beneš. The Slovaks did not hate America, and never could. Too many of them had been to America and tasted of the fruits of liberty and freedom. They knew America. America was not at war with Slovakia — Beneš was. And, unfortunately, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was gullible enough to trust Beneš, the errand boy of Stalin!

THE TROUBLEMAKER

He is the **silent** one. He never speaks up on issues. He never sounds off in the letter column of his local newspaper. He never writes his Congressman or the State Department. He is quiet as a clam. How could Democracy succeed if all of us, like this one, withheld our opinions, our ideas, our criticisms? Voting on election day is only part of a citizen's duty. Active, day-by-day participation in government, in society, in business associations is a responsibility for each and every one of us. The **silent** troublemaker fails to understand this. In his worship of "law and order," he never dares to question an oppressive law, never distinguishes "order" from stagnation. He is the apostle of social decay, not Democracy. In his wish to offend nobody, he offends Democracy. And forget it not: **Democracy, like Charity, begins at home.**

EUROPEAN FEDERALISTS WELCOME DR. KIRSCHBAUM'S BOOK

(We are pleased to publish for the benefit of our readers and of the Slovak cause a translation of an article which appeared in French in the **European Bulletin** (Jan.-Feb. 1961), the official organ of European Federalists, published in Rome.

Kirschbaum's book was received by critics in the United States, Canada, Germany, Spain and Italy, as a brilliant defense of the Slovak cause and an overdue scholarly work on Slovakia.

The European Federalists welcome the book as an excellent defense of the idea of Central European Federation. This is the translation of the French article in the *Bulletin Européen*, January-February issue, 1961.)

A DIFFICULT BUT HOPEFUL FEDERATION

By Georges Kallay

Almost a century ago, on March 1, 1871, before the French National Assembly, during a sitting held at Bordeaux, Victor Hugo delivered a speech. Mainly he said: "and one shall hear France cry out: my turn has come. Am I your enemy? No, I am your sister. I took everything back from you and I return you everything on one condition: that we shall be nothing else but one people, one family, and one republic. I shall demolish my fortresses, you shall demolish yours. Fraternity is my vengeance. No more frontiers, the Rhine belongs to all. Let us be the same republic, let us be the United States of Europe. Let us be the Continental federation, let us be European liberty."

These words for a public opinion of a century ago must have been as non-contemporary as they were visionary. France had just been vanquished by Germany. Circumstances were hardly favorable for such ideas. However, the speaker had the courage to formulate them and the audience had the courage to hear them. Today Europe has the courage to realize them.

However there is still a part of Europe where one seeks to unite the states by an entirely different method than the one Victor Hugo was thinking of, with the West behind him. It is a question of the states of Central and Oriental Europe. Of these states, those turned to the West

have always tried to defend Europe against the advance of Oriental Powers.

The greatest confusion reigns in these countries with regards to a federal idea, because of contradictory directions which originate from the central power, the Kremlin. A federal idea exists in this sense that these countries must unite, willy nilly, around the Soviet Union. Yet, or just because of this, the federal idea is not popular. There is proof in the fact that all material prepared and published on the occasion of the Congress of Stockholm ignored or even sought to refute the federal idea. The Czech historian Zdenek Jindra, for example, in his work **"Contributions a l'Histoire Contemporaine des Peuples de l'Europe Centrale,"** edited in Prague, hazards to say that a federation of Central Europe is but the expression of the German spirit of domination because a German, Friedrich Neumann, dared to say forty years ago that a federation of Central Europe would be a good thing. By such reasoning one concludes that to prevent the realization of German ideas of domination, there is only one remedy: to turn to the Soviet Union for aid.

One of the most eminent representatives of the federal thesis among his advocates in Central Europe, is a historian who now lives in Canada, Joseph Kirschbaum. Born at the time of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, he was only six years old when it collapsed and, consequently, officially he became a "Czechoslovak." When Slovakia gained its independence, Kirschbaum, 23 years of age, became one of the most prominent representatives in Slovak politics. Slovak national politics condemned Czech domination as well as German domination which equally sought to subjugate the Slovak people. In many of his political works, Kirschbaum affirms the necessity of a Central European Federation. His most recent work, **"Slovakia, Nation at the Crossroads of Central Europe,"** is but the expression of his federal thesis. He points out that the countries of Central and Oriental Europe must come to understand that they must unite if they do not wish to play the role of satellites of a foreign power.

A full chapter of the book by Kirschbaum is dedicated

to the necessity of an integration of Central Europe. The author speaks mainly of the dangers which threaten the countries of Central Europe. Two forces want to dominate these territories at all costs: Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism. The first wants German domination, and the second, Russian domination. But Kirschbaum points out that it is not a question of Hitler's Germany, nor a Stalinist Russia, but a general historical tendency of these two states toward expansion. To conquer or put these tendencies to sleep, there would be no better remedy than a union of the peoples of Central Europe even under a simple federal form.

With regards to this point of view, the peace treaties which followed the second World War were particularly injurious in the sense that they served no other purpose but to put the peoples against one another. One single example which was particularly marked: Czecho-Slovakia was reconstructed while the major part of the population, the Czechs and the Slovaks did not wish it. If these two peoples had been united in 1918 by a federation, this union would have been sanctioned, in the years which followed, the defense of liberty and democracy. But the contrary was achieved so as to throw them as prey to dictatorial ambitions. The powers which dictated the peace treaties had followed the principle: **divide et impera**. But another power made profit of the division.

According to Kirschbaum, the states of Central Europe were opposed to dictatorial ideas as much in 1938 as in 1945. But being divided, they were unable to press their opinions and oppose dictatorships.

I must refer once more to Kirschbaum when I affirm that the union of the peoples of Central Europe would have been profitable not only to themselves, but also to all of Europe and to the peace of the world. One must not forget that both World Wars originated in Central Europe. Kirschbaum affirms (and he seems to be right not only in appearance but when studying reality closely) that as long as an impregnable wall shall exist between Germany and Russia, there shall be neither order nor peace in Central Europe. This troubled situation in that corner of

the world means trouble for the entire world. According to Kirschbaum the only way to prevent a new aggression is to realize a federation of these territories. And the way matters stand presently, peace shall not reign in Europe as long as half of its people are suffering under the Soviet yoke.

Even though I am not in full accord with all of the author's views, in particular with the project of the federation to be realized, I must say that I agree with him fully on the principle. At the moment the rest is unimportant. What is now important is to communicate to the peoples on the other side of the Iron Curtain, the faith of their union. It is a difficult but necessary task, because from an ideological point of view they find themselves under a complete anarchy: on one side they see the complete unification imposed by the Kremlin and, on the other, they have a tendency to reject any federal idea because they are unable to see how to realize it.

Evidently refugees from the countries behind the Iron Curtain are persuaded by the necessity of a federation perhaps more easily than men who have always known freedom. But the refugees represent only a small fraction of the population of Central and Oriental Europe. Behind the Iron Curtain chaos and confusion still reign: there nationalism has lost a great part of its prestige, most certainly. But one cannot conclude and say that supernationalization has gained all the votes.

SLOVAKS everywhere in the free world are making preparations to celebrate the 1100th anniversary of the advent of SS. Cyril and Methodius to Slovakia, the homeland of the Slovaks. The Slovak apostles began their mission in Slovakia in 863. The year 1963 will focus the limelight of history on the Christian character of the Slovak nation. The first Christian church was built in Nitra in 830.

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THE COMIC OPERA of "de-Stalinization" has been staged in Cze-

cho-Slovakia by Antonín Novotný, Red Czech president. And the anti-Stalinist bloc announced in Prague that the body of former Czech President Klement Gottwald will be moved from its mausoleum in Prague. The body of Gottwald, an old Stalinist who died in 1953, will be interred "in the same manner as those of the other leading fighters in the Party," Novotný declared. The Czech Reds are also reconsidering the names of streets and enterprises which bear the names of Stalin and Gottwald.

Castles of Slovakia:

KREMNICA

BY HUBERT MACKO, O.S.B.

Rome was built on seven hills. Kremnica is situated in a valley surrounded by seven hills and is called the "queen of the mining cities," because of its gold and silver mines. The city has a mint, a Franciscan monastery, dating back to the 17th century, and the famous fortress which is still in fair state of preservation.

The history of the fortress is the history of the town of Kremnica. It was built to protect the town and its gold and silver mines. When the fortress was built, no one can say. Some historians claim that the fortress dates from the time of the Romans, others say the Goths built it. But this we do know: in the time of King Charles Robert, in the year 1328, the fortress was important.

Some historians claim that Kremnica was of Slovak origin, built therefore in the 9th or 10th century. They base their claim on the name itself, which is derived from the word "kremeň," meaning flint or quartz. In old documents, Kremnica is designated by various names: Cremnychbana, Cremnycz, Kremnica, Cremnich, Cremic, Keormeocz and Cremnicha.

The fortress, aside from protecting the town and the gold mines, also contained the mint, which made the money for twelve countries. It is difficult to believe, but there are no records either about the town of Kremnica or the fortress for about a hundred years, from about 1339 to the death of King Albert in 1439.

It has been established, however, that at the dawn of the 15th century, after the death of Ján Žižka, Hussite armies began their depredations in Slovakia. One part of the army came through Poland as far as Spiš, thence through Liptov to Turčiansky Svätý Martin, which was burned to the ground, thence toward Tekov and Kremnica. It is the opinion of many historians that Kremnica was besieged by this army. However, there are no historical documents to support this claim.

After the death of King Albert (1439) his widow Elizabeth, gave birth to a son, Ladislav V., called the "Posthumous", whom only one part of the country acknowledged as king. He was crowned king, but the other faction acknowledged the Polish King Ladislav as king. Ladislav's chief supporter was Ján Huňady. It is understandable that great confusion pervaded the country with two existing kings and two opposing armies.

The widowed queen Elizabeth, to defend the rights of her son, enlisted the support of the Hussite leader; John Jiskra of Brandýs. The important mining towns backed Elizabeth's son; among these was Kremnica. Jiskra was a great military leader and in a short time many towns and fortresses in Gemer county fell before his victorious army and pledged allegiance to young King Ladislav. Haško of Schellendorf, the right hand man of Jiskra, became the captain in Kremnica.

In the year 1442 the army of Ján Huňady's under the leadership of the hunter-bishop Šimon Rozgoň, laid siege to Kremnica. For four weeks the soldiers pillaged the neighboring towns. When news reached Šimon Rozgoň that John Jiskra was hastening to help Kremnica, the hunter-bishop withdrew his army.

Then in 1451, Huňady himself led an army against Kremnica, but he was no match for Jiskra and had to withdraw. In 1455 King Mathias Corvin made peace with Jiskra, and Kremnica became the property of the crown.

After the death of King Louis II. in the historic battle of Moháč, Kremnica became the property of Queen Mary. When she died Kremnica passed into the possession of her brother, Ferdinand I, exchequer of the king.

Between the years 1528 and 1533 Kremnica was the scene of many battles. It was during those turbulent times that bands of predatory knights were born. Raphael Podmanický and Mathias Bašo attacked the gold city and stole much of its gold. To protect itself and its gold, a meeting was called of the lords of all the surrounding fortresses, on October 4, 1537, where it was decided to outfit an army of 700 men. King Ferdinand I was asked to give his consent and to appoint a commander, but he

saw a threat to the crown from such a pooling of forces. He neither consented nor did he appoint a commander, leaving Kremnica to defend itself as best it could, which it promptly did by fortifying not only the fortress, but the town as well.

However, in the year 1560 a fire destroyed much of the town and the fortress. The fire was so hot that the very bells in the towers of the fortress and the canon on the walls melted like wax. The building housing the archives was destroyed completely. It took a long time and much effort to rebuild the town and the fortress.

During the Turkish invasion both the town and the fortress were besieged, but never taken. In 1604 Štefan Bočkay besieged the town, succeeded in entering and burning part of it, but the fortress proved impregnable. Since Bočkay was a great menace to Kremnica, the town offered him 4000 pieces of gold to sign a treaty, which he accepted.

In 1620 fortress Kremnica joined with Gabriel Bethlen, and in 1622 capitulated to King Ferdinand II. During Veselini's uprising in the neighboring fortress of Muráň against King Leopold, the master of fortress Kremnica and the townspeople were accused by archbishop Juraj Szelepcsényi of partisanship. Many were taken to Bratislava, tried, and convicted.

Kremnica suffered much from fires. Besides the fires already mentioned, there were four other major fires: in 1690, 1707, 1716, and 1777. As the science of warfare became perfected fortress Kremnica lost much of its defense value for the town and consequently was left to the elements. However, even today a great deal of the fortress remains. It is one of the proud possessions of the town. Amidst its ruins there was until recently a chapel and a library of the Franciscan Fathers, connecting with the monastery itself.

It is noteworthy to state that peacocks were always raised in the fortress from the time when one of them sounded the alarm during the Turkish invasion thus frustrating a sneak attack and perhaps disaster, something akin to the geese of Rome, frustrating the attacks of the Gauls upon the capital of the Roman Empire.

SUDETEN GERMAN DAYS: MAY 19-22, 1961

The month of May, 1961, saw more than 200,000 Sudeten German expellees again convene — this year in the Rhine metropolis of Cologne — to be counted among those refusing to relinquish claims to native lands now under Soviet rule.

Events that extended over four days (May 19-22) were highlighted by messages by U. S. Congressmen Morgan M. Moulder (Dem., Mo.), Gordon H. Scherer (Rep., O.), Roy A. Taylor (Dem., N. C.), Henry C. Schadeberg (Rep., Wis.), who flew to Cologne expressly to participate in the Sudeten German rally.

The United States was also represented in the person of Philip A. Hrobak, President of the Slovak League of America and editor of the Slovak publication **Jednota**, who was awarded the Sudeten German Karl's Prize for his untiring efforts toward harmony among the peoples of East Central Europe.

The Karl's Prize, named for Karl IV, King of Bohemia and Emperor of Germany, of the House of Luxemburg (1346-1378), is awarded each year to a political leader, scientist or publicist who has made an outstanding contribution to the concept of a United Europe.

Reminiscent of a Scout jamboree, 3,500 Sudeten German boys and girls pitched their tents on the Cologne city fair grounds and camped there during the rally. Although most of them are too young to remember their native homes in Sudetenland from which their families were expelled in 1945-46, they have pledged their allegiance to a Europe in which all peoples and ethnic groups shall live in peace, freedom and harmony and, like their parents, refuse to give up their just claim to their homes now behind the iron curtain.

At the grand youth finale, ruling Burgomaster of Berlin, Willy Brandt, addressed 15,000 listeners, scoring a demand for "unity, justice and freedom." A voice-speaking choir of South Moravians intoned the tragedy of a divided Germany, eager for reunification but incapable of

true unity unless it be achieved in freedom and not at the expense of freedom.

Said Oskar Boese as spokesman of the Sudeten German Youth:

The younger generation of the Sudeten Germans wants to contribute to the endeavors eventually leading to a real and long range reconciliation between the peoples of Central and East Europe and



Minister of Transportation Dr. Hans-Christoph Seeböhm, congratulates recipient of European Charles Prize, Mr. Philip A. Hrobak, President of the Slovak League of America.

to help bridge the gap between Germany and her eastern neighbors, a gap caused by war and post-war events.

According to the speaker, the Sudeten German Youth considers it its task to strengthen among the young people the many spiritual and social duties towards the people of other continents. The principle emphasis of this work lies on the dignity and freedom of the human being. Concluded Mr. Boese:

We fully recognize and adhere to the basic human rights, the inviolability of the legally acquired homeland, the right of self-determination, and the ideals and duties of democracy.

Dr. Hans-Christoph Seeborn, German Federal Minister and President of the Sudeten German Council, one of the main speakers of the Sudeten rally in Cologne, emphasized that Sudeten expellees are using solely peaceful means to achieve their goals of repatriation and self-determination. Addressing the many thousands gathered at the Cologne fair grounds he said:

You have come here voluntarily and at great personal sacrifice of time and money to rededicate yourselves to our homeland, the Sudetenland and to prove before the world that we Sudeten Germans exist as an ethnic group and are resolved to demand that the right to the homeland and to self-determination in our homeland eventually be realized.

We do not claim this right merely for ourselves, but for all people and for all nations and ethnic groups all over the world, because we know that only by the realization of these rights can a lasting peace, based on a reconciliation and cooperation of peoples and ethnic groups, be ushered in as a genuine and equal partnership.

We are working toward this goal with the peaceful means of the law. We reject force, because force would lead to new injustices which would endanger the future of posterity. We do not intend to perpetuate the injustice of the expulsion by adding new expulsions.

The right of self-determination, which cannot be exercised periodically like an election, is inseparably linked to the right of the individual to his homeland and can only be exercised in conjunction with that right.

The Bolshevik world pays lip service to the right of self-determination and has only used it as an enticement. It believes that the right of self-determination ended with the expulsion. We say, however, the right to the homeland can never be crushed by force. Only the individual can relinquish it by giving up his ties with his people and his homeland as an act of free will and conscience. Conscience cannot be silenced by force; it cannot even be silenced by deportation and enslavement. As long as people stand by their

native land, as long as they remain loyal to their people or ethnic group, they will retain this right to their homeland and the right to self-determination within that homeland.

We do not believe that the future of Europe can be made safe by the restoration of outworn forms of national States. In view of the overlapping areas of settlement of Central European peoples and ethnic groups which still exist despite the expulsion of the Germans, a new, supra-national order is needed. Peace and harmony can be assured to these peoples only when all national ambitions and lust for hegemony are branded as a violation of the commonly established order. Tolerance and partnership will have to overcome existing tensions. We Sudeten Germans have renounced all thought of revenge, retaliation and force in the Charter of the Expellees and the Wiesbaden Agreement (signed by General Lev Prchala for the Czech national Council in London; and Dr. Rudolf Lodgman von Auen, Hans Schütz and Richard Reitzner on behalf of the Association for the Protection of Sudeten German Interests).



Guests of honor at Sudeten German Day (left to right): Mr. Mouser, U. S. Embassy; the Hon. Ray A. Taylor, Gordon H. Scherer, Henry C. Schadeberg, members of U. S. Congress; General Lev Prchala, Czech National Council, and Hon. Morgan M. Moulder, Member U. S. Congress.

We want the peoples living today in Moravia, Silesia, and Slovakia to know: **We recognize, Czechs and Slovaks, your right to the homeland and your right of self-determination just as we expect you to recognize our respective rights. We want freedom for you, we want justice for you. We want you to live in a democratic and supranationally organized European order. We want to serve as equal and conscientious partners, the great aim: Freedom, justice and peace for all of Central Eastern Europe.**

Dr. Hans-Joachim von Merkatz, West German Minister of Expellee and Refugee Affairs, speaking for the Federal Chancellor and the German Federal Government, said:

When you ask to be able to return to your homeland, to your free homeland, it has nothing whatsoever to do with plans and ideas as expressed by the National Socialists. It is the natural expression of love for one's native soil.

Your ethnic group is under fire by Eastern propaganda. However, you are not in bad company if people accuse you of being "revengists," nor is this accusation borne out merely by constant repetition. It simply shows how sensitively the East reacts to our pledge of allegiance to your homeland and the right to that homeland — which is one of the most natural of all rights. You are not seeking revenge. We who are the most recent victims of revenge are the first ones to break its vicious circle. The expellees have long since abandoned any thought of revenge and retaliation...

The German Bundestag, in a solemn declaration made in 1950, stated that the right to the homeland is an inalienable claim of man and that it raises protest against the surrender of this right of the homeland belonging to those Germans from Czecho-Slovakia entrusted to the care of the West German Federal Republic. The Federal Government has repeatedly spoken out in this vein on behalf of the principle of the right to the homeland and the right of self-determination for all Germans.

The Hon. Gordon H. Scherer, member of the U. S. House of Representatives, addressing the Sudeten German expellees, gathered at Cologne's fair grounds said:

I bring you the warmest greetings of the Congress and the people of the United States of America. This meeting is important because you are courageously facing up to the greatest issue of this generation, that issue before which all others pass into insignificance. It is the fight with the Soviet Union for survival, with the international Communist conspiracy by all those people on both sides of the iron curtain who love and want liberty and the right of self-determination.

I am one of those, however, who does not believe that we are going to have all-out nuclear war. Why? Simply because today the fire-power between the East and the West is fairly well balanced and neither side is going to risk the total destruction of its cities.

The Russians are not dumb. Why should they risk almost total annihilation?

As long as the Communist empire continues to move forward, how, as a practical matter, can the Sudeten Germans expect to have their lands and properties returned to them? How can you or any of the people behind the iron curtain expect the right of self-determination as long as the despots in the Kremlin continue cynically to manipulate the strings that control their puppets in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, China, Tibet and, yes, East Germany?

Only after we in the free world, with the help of millions of our secret allies behind the iron and bamboo curtains, turn the tide of atheistic, godless Communism, will Sudeten Germans be able to realize their cherished goals of "restoration of their homelands" and "self-determination."

Congressman Roy A. Taylor, praised the Sudeten Germans as one of the greatest anti-Communist forces in the



The main speakers at Sudeten German Day. (Left to right): Wenzel Jaksch, President of Sudeten German Federal Assembly; Willy Brandt, Mayor of West Berlin; Hans-Christoph Seebohm, President of the Sudeten German Council.

world, saying they had greatly contributed to the struggle for the preservation of freedom. The Sudetens know, he stated, what it means to suffer at the hands of Communism. "Through your actions you have won the admiration of all free people of the world.

"We need to believe that right in the world will triumph over might, and that truth crushed to earth will rise again. We want you to know that we in America are anxious to help correct the injustices of the past and recover the world's greatest lost treasure, which is world peace."

Representative Henry C. Schadeberg declared that:

Sudeten Germans have the title to their homeland as all other people of the world and Communist measures must be tolerated in no case, be they directed against the Poles or the Germans. **Your magnificent way to demonstrate for cooperation with the Slovak people by awarding the Charles Prize to the President of the Slovak League of America is a manifestation for cooperation with all other nations of Eastern Europe.**

Your attitude is greatly appreciated by freedom-loving people in America and in all of the free world. We believe with you that freedom will not disappear from this world — that freedom and not Communist tyranny is the "wave of the future," and that faith in God will strengthen and remain the bulwark of free men in the West. Our work and your work will be successful because freedom is right and tyranny is wrong.

From Congressman Morgan M. Moulder the audience heard that the Communists were following quite clear aims by expelling the Sudeten Germans from their homelands. Said he:

The Communists wanted to push the borders of their territory as far west as possible. They bribed followers by distributing German expellees' property; thereby they were able to collectivize Sudeten German and East German agriculture and industry, and have tried to corrupt the morale of all East German peoples and create eternal hatred between the Germans on the one hand and the Czechs and the Poles on the other.

Every American who loves freedom should condemn these Communist aims. Every American should support the rapprochement between nations that have become victims of Communism. It is our belief that this rapprochement must be based on justice. We believe that all people have a right to their homeland and that the injustices committed since world Communism arose must be removed. We believe that the nations long for and deserve full freedom and self-determination.

The Sudeten Germans should have the right to return to their centuries-old homeland and to their self-determination.

Wenzel Jaksch, member of the German Federal Par-

liament and President of the Sudeten German Federal Assembly, Wiesbaden, told the Cologne rally:

If we look at the Sudeten problem as an isolated question, it becomes one of the most difficult ones in Europe today.

Today, as in the past, it is our historic perseverance that will decide the future of our homeland. A homeland that is written off the books is lost forever. We are called illusionists because we do not want to forfeit the old homeland. Yet those who believe they can retain West Germany permanently, if they yield East Germany and the Sudetenland, are even greater illusionists. At this point we are faced with an inner decision between political defensive and political offensive thinking. The making of that decision is an unescapable task.

An European democracy that thinks offensively should see in the loyalty of Sudeten and East Germans to their homeland its most valuable allies. Any overall European peace plan of the united democracies cannot afford to exclude the reparation of the expulsions. This is no biased German demand but a prerequisite of freedom and self-determination of the East European peoples.

The price of freedom for all European peoples is their restriction to historically confirmed boundaries of settlement and respect for the neighbor's boundaries drawn by the plowshare and not by the sword.

Willy Brandt, popular Burgomaster (Mayor) of Berlin, made a special trip to Cologne to address the Sudeten German rally. In his speech Brandt said:

The citizens of Berlin today, even as the expellees in the post-war era, are symbolically shouldering the load for the entire nation. Berlin is the bridge between the people of our divided country. If the lights should go out in Berlin, darkness would set in for the entire German Federal Republic.

We in Berlin feel that we need no counter-ideology. The East Block ideology is not such a Herculean thing that we can only meet it on the defensive.

The Berlin question is not the cause but the result of tensions between East and West and of Germany's partition. There is no isolated Berlin solution. What there may be, until the reestablishment of Germany's unity in freedom and in agreement with the justified security interests of all concerned, is a settlement of solely practical matters. The following points remain essential:

1. The right of Berlin's citizens freely to decide their own matters.

2. The rights and duties of the Allied Protecting Powers to provide for access to Berlin and for preparations for a peace treaty with an all-German government.

3. The indissoluble connection between West Berlin and the economic and legal system of the German Federal Republic.

4. The community of the population of both sectors of Berlin, which must not be jeopardized by changing the demarcation line of the city into State boundaries. — **"Sudeten Bulletin."**

BOOK REVIEWS

Dejiny staršej slovenskej literatúry (History of the Older Slovak Literature) by J. Mišianik, J. Minárik, M. Michalcová, A. Melicherčík; published by Slovenská akadémia vied (Slovak Academy of Sciences), Bratislava, 1960; p. 320, ill.

During the past decade, The Slovak Academy of Sciences published several works which shed a new light on the history of Slovak literature and basically contrast with the views of American symposia dealing with Slovakia's past. The volume on older Slovak literature, which dates the beginnings of the history of Slovak literature back to the ninth century, will perhaps be one of the most unexpected surprises to foreign Slavists, accustomed as they are to regard Slovak literature not older than a hundred years.

The contributors to L. I. Strakhovský's **"Handbook of Slavic Studies,"** to R. J. Kerner's **"Czechoslovakia,"** or to the present volume on **"Czechoslovakia,"** edited by V. Busek-N. Spulber and published by the Mid-European Studies Center, set the birthdate of Slovak literature as the year 1844, minimizing or ignoring previous literary efforts in Slovak culture. And their views have been accepted favorably by many scholars in the field of Slavic studies.

Marxist literary historians, who prepared the volume under review, produced a volume of 320 pages on Slovak literary history which ends with the year 1780, and a bibliography of 410 pages on the period 1780-1844, indicating that only in Bernolák's movement there were about 100 writers. There also were several outstanding Slovak scholars before, who emphasized as early as 1655, that Slovakia was the heir of Great Moravia and that the Slavs in general and the Slovaks in particular, had an old culture and were an old European race.

It should be stressed that neither Professor Strakhovský nor R. J. Kerner can be held responsible for the misrepresentations in their symposia because their contributors were the closest Slavic kin to the Slovaks. Nor any lack of original studies on Slovak literature can be responsible for the distorted accounts, because there is not much new in the Marxist "History of the Older Slovak Literature" which so-called "bourgeois nationalist" literary historians would not have known about. In numerous monographies and studies written by A. A. Baník, J. Škultéty, S. Jurovský, C. F. Lepáček, V. Bobek, Š. Krémery, J. Vlček, A. Mráz, R. Brtník, etc., more or less all the published material was made known a long time ago. It was known to some extent even to Professor Ernest Denis from the Sorbonne, as evidenced by his book **La question d'Autriche — Les Slovaques**, published in 1917. Slovak Marxist literary historians merely compiled results of previous researches and gave to the history of Slovak literature a new "Marxist" interpretation and a new periodization.

The older Slovak literature is divided by the Marxist historians into four periods: the epoch of Great Moravia (the ninth and tenth century); the Romanesque and Gothic period (tenth-fifteenth cen-

ture); Renaissance (fifteenth-seventeenth century); and Baroque (the first half of the seventeenth century to 1780).

This periodization is new and it is based on the principles of Marxist philosophy of history rather than on the ideological and literary currents of Western civilization which found an echo in Slovakia. In their appraisal of older Slovak writers and Marxist literary historians are close to former "bourgeois and nationalist" scholars who also included into the history of Slovak literature the Cyrilo-Methodian period and all literary works created by Slovaks in Latin, German, Biblical Czech, or other languages. It is the "Czechoslovak" interpretation which the Marxist literary historians vehemently oppose, since the Czech scholars (A. Pražák, F. Wollman, J. Chaloupecký) regarded Slovak literature before 1844 (Štúr's reform of the Slovak language) as a part of Czech literature (including even Šafárik, Kollár, etc., into it) and belittled its significance.

While we may disagree with the criteria and approach of the Marxist literary historians, we cannot disregard many positive aspects of this first comprehensive volume on the older Slovak literature. It will fill a gap in the field of Slavic literatures, and to many Slavists on this continent it will bring a new look at the Slovak past. The book unfortunately lacks a résumé in foreign languages which other recent Slovak publications usually contain. In form and contents the book is not without scholarly values.

J. M. Kirschbaum,
University of Montreal.

Roman Smal-Stocki: The Captive Nations: Nationalism of the Non-Russian Nations in the Soviet Union, Bookman Associates New York, 1960; 118 pp.

A popular fallacy is that small volumes have little to say, large ones much. As many scholars learn very early in their training, the reverse is often the case. The present slender volume is a distillate of the many years of study — and of personal experience — of a particularly vital aspect of the Soviet phenomenon by a distinguished scholar, Dr. Roman Smal-Stocki, for over ten years on the faculty of Marquette University. It is because this is must reading for all America that we point out that brevity in this study of nationalism in the Soviet orbit affords two advantages: a wide scope compressed such that the significance of the oppressed peoples

may easily be grasped; and the relatively little reading required to grasp it.

Dr. Smal-Stocki, witty as well as penetrating, is probably unrivalled for such an accomplishment; and he has admirably succeeded. Internationally known for his scholarship, he has also been acclaimed for his life-long struggle (conducted from no Ivory Tower) for the right of self-determination for all non-Russian nations in the Soviet "monolith." As president of the Promethean League, representing all the nations oppressed by Russia, he effectuated a common front of all significant non-Russian emigre groups oppressed by Soviet Russia. From 1924 to 1929 he championed the victims of Russian aggression at the League of Nations. His importance was certified by Hitler, eager to acquire Ukraine without interference as an

agricultural reservoir: Dr. Smal-Stocki was interned in Prague for the duration of the war. The present work is but one of a series of brilliant studies conducted by this individual, gifted both as a scholar and as a man, during his years in America.

This study of nationalism, if disseminated properly, should go far to correct present tendencies in American thinking with regard to the importance of modern nationalism in modern times. Ironically enough, "the principles for which Americans fought their own mother country" are "the very principles which Americans have been ignoring in their foreign policy toward the new Red Russian Empire for 40 years." Especially in recent times, Wilson's concept of "self-determination of small nations" went to the wayside. It became fashionable, in scholarly circles and elsewhere, to attack the application of this doctrine for not emasculating itself in the mystical goal of internationalism. Even in our own day we can hear the claim that the Russians, whatever their failures in practice so far, are continuing a revolution which is "a necessary successor" to the French and the American Revolutions.

Such thinking is in no little wise responsible for the "rapid and catastrophic decline from world leadership as occurred to the United States from 1946 to 1958 in world politics." Defeatism has been on the march — and shows no signs of flagging. Such schools of thought" as these have developed: (1) with gradual liberalization, the Russian revolution will end with stabilization of a "democratic federated republic"; (2) active support of national communism, called Titoism, to speed up "liberalization" (disregarding the fact that "national" communism is commun-

ism and dictatorship, nonetheless); (3) **status quo** advocates, on the premise that the communist revolutionary expansion has ended; this, goes the claim, would give the USSR "security."

Dr. Smal-Stocki points out that the non-Russian nations (which compose over half of the Russian" population of the USSR) believe that the communist revolution is unfinished. "The beginning of the last act of this revolution started in East Germany (Berlin), in Poland, and in Hungary, but was stopped by the moral apathy and lethargy of the free world. (It) can be stopped and broken only by a democratic revolution of the victims of Russian imperialism, supported by the whole strength of the democratic powers for the common cause."

The alternates are, to say the least, distasteful. If the free world tolerates the further continuation of Russian expansion, in the next 20 years or sooner, declares the author, the World Soviet Union will be established. Or, once convinced its technical advances have outstripped us greatly enough, Soviet Moscow can take its chances with a gigantic "Pearl Harbor" type of attack on the whole U. S.

The Russian Communist dictatorship is a past master at utilizing every mistake or act of magnanimity on the part of the free world, the author points out. "Only by realizing the self-determination of the non-Russian nations, only by international concert of the free nations, nationalities and peoples, can real peace be achieved," concludes Dr. Smal-Stocki.

A highly recommended book to all, which, going back in its study of nationalism in the non-Russian nations, even before World War I, affords us a perspective which leads, under the author's

cogent guidance, to a realization that our true weapon is the explosive force of ideas contained in the national freedom aspirations of the non-Russian nations. — W.D.

William L. Shirer: **The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich.** A History of Nazi Germany, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1960; 1245 pp., \$10.00.

In the guise of objective history this volume presents a harrowing, massive but one-sided record of unrelieved German crimes and blunders. William L. Shirer, foreign correspondent and news commentator, is also on the board of directors of the "Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc." of which Dorothy Thompson wrote (May 31, 1950) that it "has conducted a systematic campaign against any constructive peace with Germany... and vilified every person in public life who tried to warn that procedure along Morgenthau lines would encompass the ruin of Europe."

Shirer does not allow that the Versailles Treaty was unjust (p. 58). He states that "Nazism and the Third Reich, in fact, were but a logical continuation of German history" (p. 90). His piling up of Nazi crimes, failing to put them in perspective with the crimes of the opponents, never in fact alluding to the worst Soviet crimes, such as their brutal population transfers and their mass raping of not only German but also Hungarian, Slovak and Austrian women, seem calculated to make any unwary reader hate more than ever the German people — now our allies — who tolerated the monstrous Nazis, and to think of the equally monstrous Bolsheviks, now our cold war enemies, as really not so bad!

In pages on the Nazi abuse of Soviet and Polish prisoners of war

he does not once allude to the Soviet mass murder of Polish officers at Katyn. He never mentions General Vlassov and his insurgent Russians who preferred fighting for the Germans to living under the Soviets.

He gives good information on several German attempts to remove Hitler, three even before 1941, but he makes no reference to the Morgenthau plan, Communist-inspired, which was calculated to drive the Germans to desperate resistance instead of revolt. For the rest, despite distortions and some clear falsehoods, there is much interesting information in the book. Hitler is depicted as an uncanny genius, almost puritan, fanatically warped on loyalty and honor, pathologically anti-Bolshevik and anti-Jewish, absolutely against war with the West, but certainly plotting it against Poland and Russia.

Reading of Hitler's crimes and blunders in detail, deducing from the facts that truly moral statesmanship anywhere from 1918 on could have prevented the colossal misery of World War II and after, makes one feel about the human race as Swift did.

In sum: more harmful than good except for trained historians. — A. J. App.

H. G. Adler: **Die Juden in Deutschland.** From the Enlightenment to National Socialism. Kösel-Verlag, Munich, 1960; 178 pp., DM 6.80.

National Socialism produced nothing really new, particularly anti-Semitism, although it remained for said regime to exercise it in the modern age in an apocalyptic way. H. G. Adler is a Jew from Prague, survivor of the concentration camps of Theresienstadt and Auschwitz, who has analyzed the origins of anti-semitism, the Eman-

icipation, and the plight of the Jews in Germany.

The results of the author's endeavor are procurable in a small book prolific with quotes and sources. Adler candidly acknowledges that during the Middle Ages a Jewish problem was possible only in Germany because the European national States, after a period of severe oppression "divested themselves of their Jews" by means of expulsion, England in 1290, France in 1306 (and, after temporary readmittance, again in 1933), Spain in 1492 and Portugal in 1497."

Hatred of the Jews was due for centuries to their belonging to a different religion; the solution lay therefore in conversion to Christianity or by remedying their "otherness." Heine spoke of his baptism as the "ticket of admission to European culture." Yet the position of the Jews in Germany was as varied as the very diversified nature of the First Reich itself. As late as 1817, for example, the English province of Hannover quite firmly resisted the proposed emancipation of the Jews which had been sought by Christians and Jews alike ever since the Enlightenment.

After the founding of the Second Reich religious difference was, to be sure, no longer the true cause of anti-semitism, for in the Bismarckian constitution one's religious affiliation was irrelevant. Adler cites in addition to the long-standing religious aspect of the Jewish question German anti-semites like the Berlin court preacher Stöcker, the Viennese Bürgermeister Lueger, Richard Wagner, Lagarde, and Fritsch. According to these persons race and not religion was the cause of anti-Jewish feeling. One notes a breach in developments that is not bridged by any explanation and one wonders why this surprising change. Was

it due to the rapid increase after 1871 of Jewish banking and trading firms, the entrance of Jewish lawyers, doctors, and teachers into professions that had been barred to them hitherto? Was it due to envy of their quick social climb? Even during the period of religious anti-Jewish hatred the curse "his blood be on us and on our children" was not the sole reason for the pogroms, but also the desire to be rid of the annoying creditors. A similar trend developed in many large German cities in the "golden twenties."

German anti-semitism, in the final analysis, has come to be a stain not only on the name of Germany for years to come but has actually estranged one of the most ardent German protagonists throughout the world, the German speaking Jews. Adler's book shows primarily, too, the zeal with which the German Jews all over the world were ready to serve their people, a fact which is seldom remembered today — L. Rainalter.

ANONYMOUS LETTERS, written to Red leaders in Slovakia, are causing some concern to the regime. The Bratislava Radio recently reminded its listeners that writers of such letters, if revealed, are in for stiff fines and long jail sentences. The reaction: more and still more anonymous letters to worry the collaborators of Red Prague.

A CREMATORY is being planned in Bratislava, Slovakia, according to the daily PRÁCA. It should be ready by the end of 1963; the cost: 9 million Crowns; and location: near the present Bratislava cemetery. The Reds are happy that finally consideration has been given "to this modern and scientific way of burying the dead."

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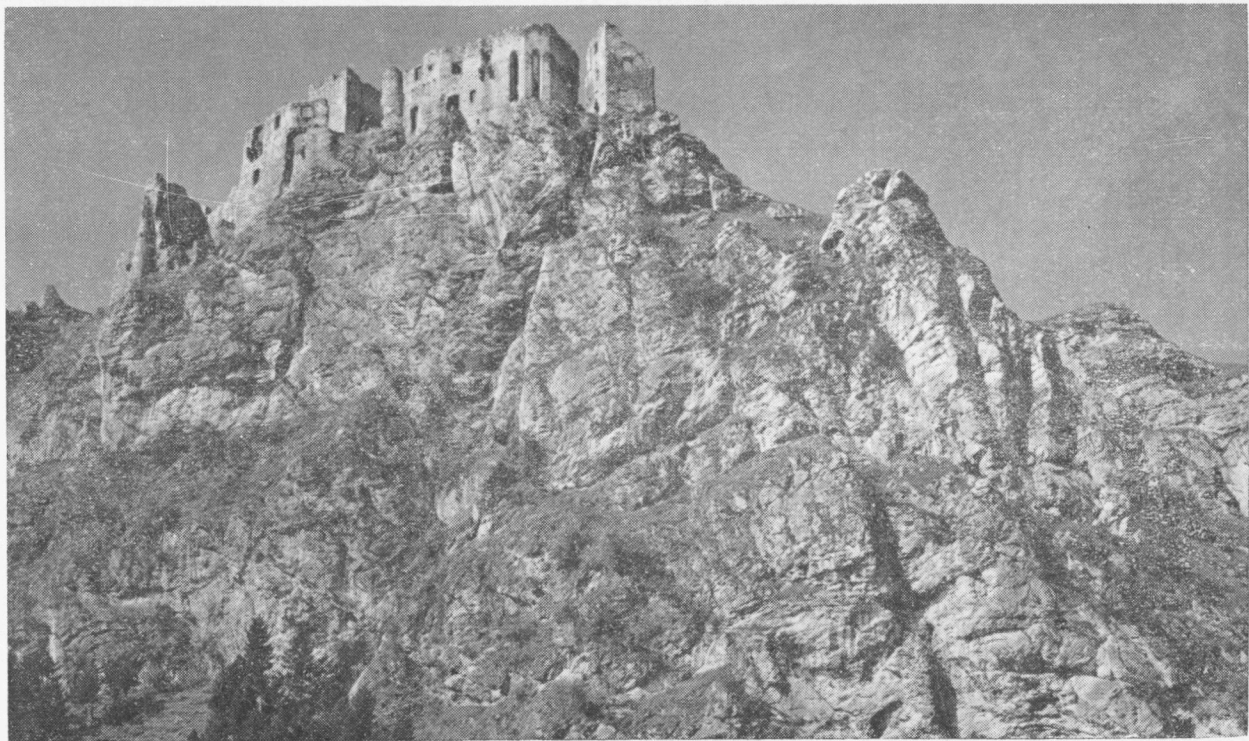
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SLOVAKIA: The ruins of Strečno Castle above the Váh river in the Trenčín Province (13th century).